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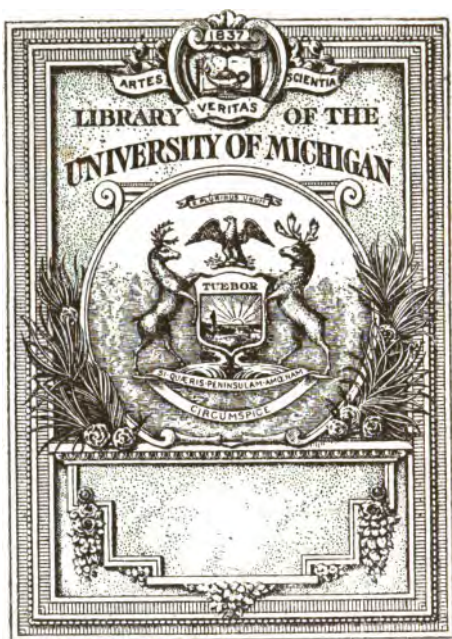
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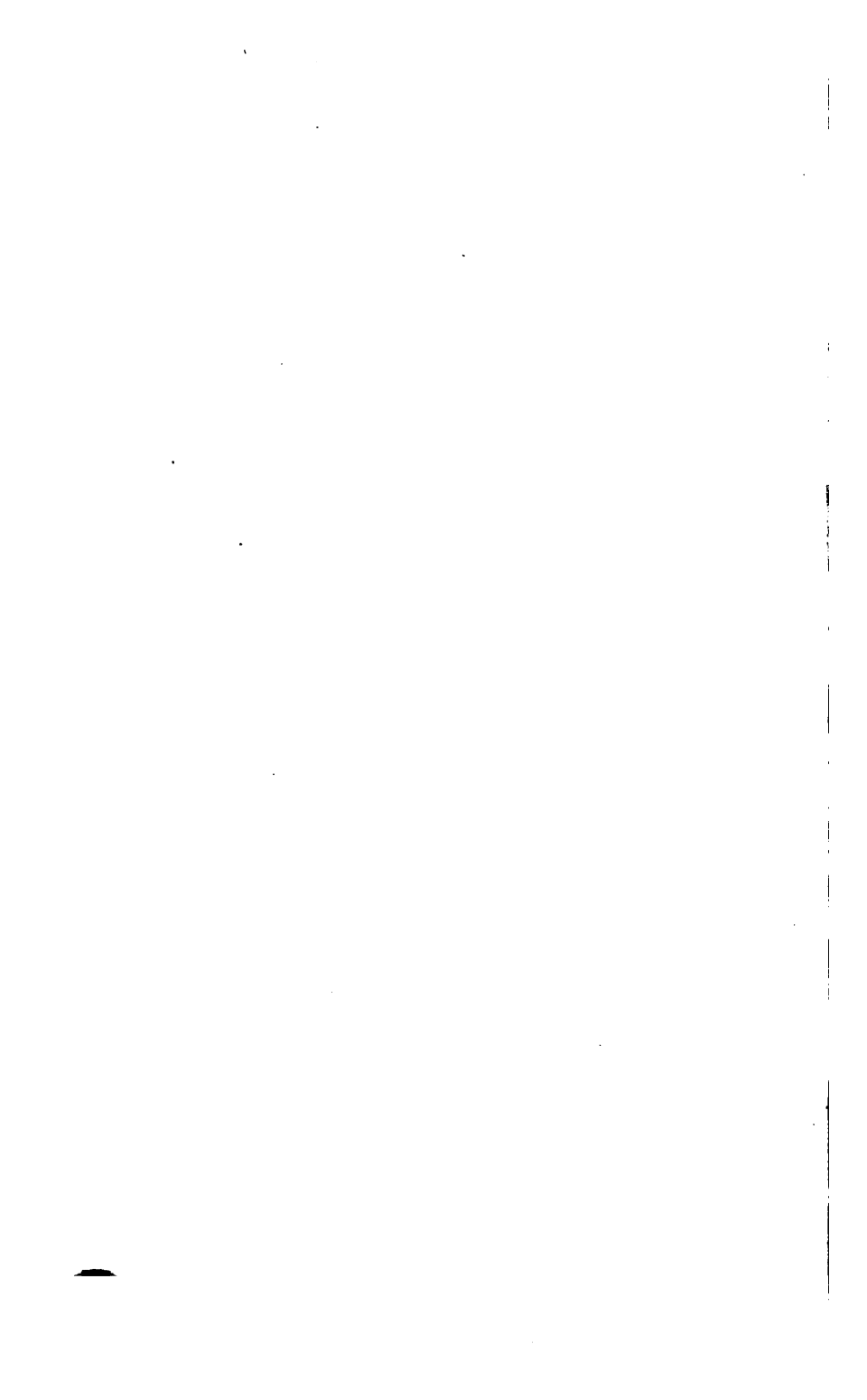


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J. Barnard

THE
HISTORY
OF
POLAND
UNDER
AUGUSTUS II.

WHICH CONTAINS

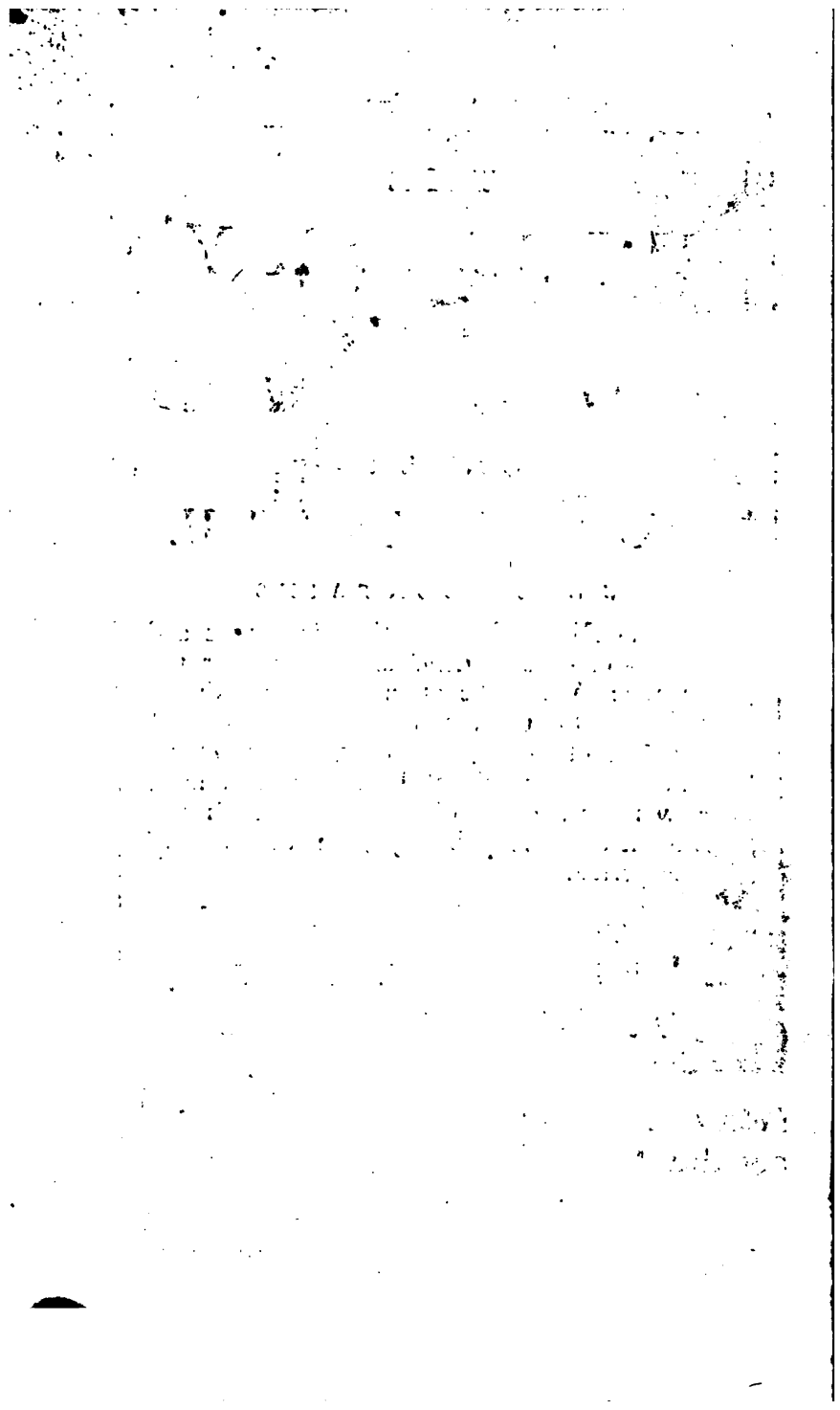
The great Dispute between that PRINCE and the PRINCES of *Consi* and *Sobieski* for the Crown: With the other important Transactions of his Life, and with which the best Account of the Government, Laws, Diets, Assemblies, Manners of Electing their Kings, Power and Factions of the Nobility, Militia, Interest of the Republick, &c. is occasionally intersperfed.

Translated from the *French* of the
ABBE DE PARTHENAY,
By *JOHN STACIE*, Esq.

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Printed for *W. Lewis* in *Russel-Street*, *Covent-Garden*,
and *F. Cogan* at the *Middle-Temple-Gate*, *Fleet-Street*.

MDCCLXXXIV.



History of Poland under Augustus II, which contains the great dispute between that Prince and the Princes of CONTI and SOBIESKI for the Crown. With the other important transactions of his Life, and with which the best account of the Government, Laws, Diets, Assemblies, Manners of electing their Kings, power and Factions of the Nobility, Militia, Interests of the Republick, etc., is occasionally interspersed. Translated from the French of the Abbé De Parthenay, by John Stacie. 8vo, (8) ll., 190 pp., (1) bl. l., (1) p., pp. 210-396, (2) ll. (publisher's list), good copy, calf, broken, ~~1~~ £1.10.0

For W. Lewis and F. Cogan, London, 1734

DEDICATED to Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury. Estreicher, IX, 150. Lowndes, IV, 1793. A copy in the Brit. Mus. is also without Sig. O, which accounts for the hiatus of 16 pp. in the pagination. (H. 320.)

ANTHONY,

Earl of SHAFTSBURY.

My LORD,



TAKE the Liberty, which I hope You will have the Goodness to excuse, to present your Lordship this Translation of the History of Poland, under the late King *Augustus*; not that I believe your Lordship does

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not

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DEDICATION.

not understand the Original much better than my self, but as its Novelty may make a Copy of it agreeable in any Language. And I am the apter to believe, it may not be unacceptable to your Lordship, not only as it includes a general Idea of the Customs and Polity of a Nation, upon which all *Europe* are now intent, but from the extraordinary Events of its late Monarch's Life, which was perhaps as active and severe a Course of every kind of Fortune and Politicks, as ever exercised the Soul of Prince.

Whether the Author has treated his Subject according to its Dignity, I leave to your Lordship and others to determine: I have endeavoured to make him speak our Language, for the Use of those who are unacquainted with his own. With what Success I submit also to better Judges: Of this I am assured, that in rendering his abridged manner of Writing into *English*,

DEDICATION.

list, I have sufficiently experienced the Truth of *Horace's*;

Difficile est propriè Communia dicere—

For the rest, my Lord, I refer your Lordship to his own Preface, which, as it gives some Account of his Work, was thought proper to be annexed to the Translation.

I might here take occasion, my Lord, after the Example of my Brethren, the Bad Writers of these *sad* Times, to expatiate into abundant Encomium upon your Lordship's high Qualities, great Abilities, and heroick Virtues; but upon consulting my Genius I find it so unequal to the Praise You must deserve, that I choose rather to suppress my Passion for your Reputation, than to injure your Lordship by an aukward Effect of it.

The Compliments, too frequent in Writings of this kind, seem rather

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what

DEDICATION

what an Author makes to his own happy Faculties of Distinguishing, than the real Characteristicks of the Noble Person to whom they are addressed. To understand exalted Merit, seems to imply a kind of Superiority in him who pretends to it, and is, methinks, a tacit Insinuation of a Capacity for something more: At least the Great alone can praise each other. My Lord, I hope, I never shall have a Vanity of this kind; and when I assure You, the World entertains the highest Hopes of your Lordship's future Excellencies, from the early Promises of your Youth, I only speak the Opinion of others, which I am glad to believe my self.

Another Inducement for presenting your Lordship this Volume, and which I cannot help thinking no vulgar Motive, is the Obligation I am under for the Improvement of my Reason (tho' not so great as that of many others

DEDICATION.

Others, from the Want of Leisure and Capacity) to the excellent Works of your truly illustrious Father. Works! which the best Judges agree, will for ever be ranked amongst the First (if not THE FIRST) of Writings, by all but * Such, whose Interest it is to support established Prejudices, too tender for so exquisite a Criticism.

This, my Lord, I own is but a poor Return for what must be the greatest of Benefactions, as the Rectitude of the Judgment and the Enlargement of the Soul infinitely transcend all other Advantages. It is however of the Nature of Gratitude to intend to be grateful, tho' defective in the Means--- But whatever other Wants I may have, suffer me to assure You, my Lord, That of the

* Enthusiasts in Criticism, Morality, Philosophy, and Religion.

utmost

~~D E D I C A T I O N~~

utmost Respect for your Lordship's
Person and Virtues; will never be of
the Number, and that I am fond
of this publick Occasion of expres-
sing, how much I have the Honour
to be,

My LORD,

Your LORDSHIP'S

most Humble, and

most Obedient Servant,

JOHN STACIE.



THE Author's Preface.

IN giving this History to the Publick I have had more regard to the Dignity of the Subject, than the Manner of treating it. It includes a Reign, upon which all Europe was long intent, notwithstanding the Diversity of Objects that might well have deserved a Share in its Attention. It treats of a Throne obtained by Policy and immense Profusions, held several Years by Perseverance and unwearied Application, notwithstanding the utmost Efforts of Sedition and the Spirit of Party, lost to Revenge, restored by Affection, and possessed in Consequence thro' an alternate Succession of Complaints and Applauses. This would require one of those Pens, for which the Publick reserves its utmost Favour and Approbation, and Mine is very far from being of that Number. The Employments and Occasions

The Author's Preface.

Occasions which have obliged me to visit most of the Courts of Europe, have left me very little leisure to exercise my self in Writing. But I have at least the Advantage in return, of having seen with my own Eyes, and of knowing from my self or from Persons well informed, the greatest Part of the Facts I relate.

Many Persons would here take Occasion to mortify the Publick with an unnecessary Recital of their own Adventures, and to introduce a tedious Detail of superfluous Personalities: But I am too sensible of the Ridicule of such Behaviour to fall into it myself. It does not at all concern the Publick, to know those Circumstances of my Life, which have supply'd me with the Knowledge necessary to the writing of this History. For, besides that, I cannot enter into Accounts of my self without Indiscretion, such Narratives would be of no Consequence at all to the understanding of the Events I treat.

*The Reader must not expect to find in my Work a Journal of Augustus's Amours. That Prince, the most Gallant of his Time, might supply sufficient matter of that kind for Volumes; but I must observe that it is not the King of Poland's Life which I write;
and*

The Author's Preface.

and much less the History of his Amours. What I propose is to give a just Idea of what he did as King of Poland from Sobieski's to his own Death. I leave to such as please to use them, a thousand little Stories which do not enter into my Plan, and which my Profession does not admit me to describe, and have too good an Opinion of the Publick to apprehend their reproaching me for the Omission.

An Apprehension of another kind seems to me better founded, which I shall beg leave to repeat. Monsieur Voltaire has published an History of Charles XII, King of Sweden, which is now in every Body's Hands, I have read it with Attention, and find both He and I often treat the same Subject, but certainly differ vastly in our stating Facts. Should he be asked how this happens, I don't know what his Answer would be. Mine is easy and This.

Mr. Voltaire has wrote a Poem in Verse, upon the Civil Wars of France in the Time of Henry IV. and seems fond of making another in Prose upon the King of Sweden's Wars. Convinced that a Book with so celebrated a Name to it as his, could not fail of being well received, he has not been at much trouble in examining his Materials,

The Author's Preface.

Materials, but has taken them in gross, ran over them lightly, and mingling the whole with a Rapidity of Style and Images, that engage the Reader's Attention; he scarce regards whether his Descriptions of Towns, Sieges and Battles, are true or not. He contents himself with the Probable, and ventures the Correction of a Multitude of Witnesses still living, or whose Memoirs are publick.

The Siege of Riga in 1700 is an Instance to justify what I say. According to the Poetical Historian, the Place was besieged in form, the Attacks were pushed with vigour, and the Defence of the Besieged was warm and obstinate.

"The King of Poland, says Mr. Voltaire, besieged the Place in person Count Fleming since Minister of Poland, a great Man both in the Camp and Cabinet, and the Sieur Patkul pressed the Siege in the King's Presence, the one with all the Activity of his Character, the other with all the Obstinacy of Revenge. But notwithstanding the several Advantages which the Besiegers had gained, the old Count Alberg's Experience frustrated their Endeavours."

What Difference there is between this Account and all others, which agree in saying, that the Besiegers only fired a few Cannon Shot; that

The Author's Preface

that the King and his Generals pressed the Inhabitants more by Promises and Threats than by vigorous Attacks; that till the 28th of August the Time passed in Preparations; that the 6th of September they began to throw Bombs into the Place, but rather with intent to frighten than do damage to the Besieged; that the same thing had been done a few Days before upon making trial of the Mortars; and that the red hot Balls shot into the Town two Days after, were to as little effect as the Bombs? There is not the least Foundation in this for the Idea Mr. Voltaire would give us of the Activity and Obstinacy of the Generals, Besides which, far from finding several Advantages gained by the Besiegers, upon a nearer Examination we shall observe, that the fire of the Artillery from the Town, which was not inferior to that of the Saxon Army, ought to have done more damage to the Besiegers, than they did to the Works.

Who can know Altena in the Description Mr. Voltaire gives us of it? "Altena, says he, lies "above Hamburgh upon the River Elbe, "which carries Vessels of tolerable Burden "into its Port." However all the World knows that Altena is below, and not above Hamburgh. The Poetical Historian, by consulting any Map, might have learnt the true Situation

The Author's Pickée.

Situation of that Town, and have found it has no other Port but the River. What he says afterwards is not more exact. His Troops, says he speaking of Steinbock, were in the Suburbs with Torch in hand. A weak wooden Gate with a Fosse already filled up, were the only Defence of Altena. In hearing him speak of Suburbs, might not one conceive Altena a considerable City, with Suburbs at least to it; whereas in reality Altena is it self no more than a Suburb without the Gate of the City of Hamburg; and when he mentions a Gate and Fosse, might it not be imagined, that he speaks of a fortified Town? It is however certain, that there are no Works at Altena, and that it never was inclosed with such a Fosse as is usual in fortified Places, unless that Name may be given to a kind of Drain for carrying off the Water after great Rains. Mr. Voltaire's whole Work abounds with Negligences that would disgrace an History, tho' they are excusable in a Poem; especially when we reflect that the Poet's design was not to instruct, but to delight with lively and animated Descriptions; that if Veracity be indispensibly necessary to History, it is not equally so to a Poet, who is often in the right to prefer to a languid and disagreeable Truth a Probability that gives Life and Spirit to his Narration. It was for want of entering into this way of thinking, that an illustrious Senator

The Author's Preface.

nator of Sweden spoke of Mr. Voltaire with the utmost Contempt. He considered his Book only as an History, whereas had he taken it as a Poem, he could not have denied him due Praise.

As I am sensible it is not in my Power to make my Readers the same amends in point of Style, I have kept the closer to Historical Truth, and have omitted nothing that might conduce to that Effect. Full of Respect and Admiration for the Virtue of every Country, I have not been prejudiced in favour of any Nation; and if I have drawn some Persons in colours not to their Advantage, their Conduct, which it was my duty not to disguise, was bad and irregular, I have had no respect to Persons, and the Primate Radziewski, tho' Archbishop of Gnesna and a Cardinal, is as little flatter'd in my Book, as the Seculars and Men of the Sword. On the contrary his double Dealing and the Spirit of Treason, which animates that Prelate during the Troubles of his Country, seem to me a monstrous Character, and infinitely more unpardonable in an Ecclesiastick than the turbulent and seditious Disposition of some of the Grands.

This

The Author's Preface.

This History is contained in four Books, of which each concludes naturally with some considerable Event, as the double Election of the two Competitors for the Crown of Poland; Augustus delivered at length from the Prince of Conti's Opposition; The Battle of Narva and the Dethroning of Augustus. I thought proper at each of these affecting Periods, to give the Reader an Opportunity of suspending his Study and Attention. The other Books are disposed in the same Method. I leave the rest to the Taste and Decision of the Publick.





THE
HISTORY
OF
POLAND
UNDER
AUGUSTUS II.

● 2013 年 12 月 10 日

В о о к I.



EUROPE had long been harrassed with an almost universal War. The Turk, whose Conquests had opened him a Passage thro' all Austria to the Gates of it's Capital, had seen his formidable

General Situation of Europe in the Reign of Sobieski.

midable Army under the Walls of *Vienna* overthrown and dispersed. Seized in his Turn with the Terrors, into which he had thrown all *Germany*, and reduced to fly before the Troops he had despised a few Days before, he thought himself happy in having brought off the Ruins of his Army to his ancient Frontier.

Lewis the Fourteenth, whom a Train of uninterrupted Successes had made the Terror of his Neighbours, had consented to suspend by a Truce the antient Quarrel between his own, and the House of *Austria*, and, to use the Language of those Times, * the Sun had stopped his Course that *Joshua* might have Time to conquer the *Canaanites*: But being satisfied with the Measures he had taken with the Emperor in that dangerous and difficult Conjuncture, he did not think it proper to continue him those Succours which were become less necessary, and which he foresaw he should have Occasion to make Use of himself, in the Execution of the Changes he meditated at home.

The Revolution in *England*, and the famous Treaty of *Ausburgh*, had given Reason to the greatest Part of *Europe* to enter into Engagements against *France*; and that Crown had to support it self at the same Time against the Emperor and the whole Empire,

* The Sun was at that Time almost in all the Devices of that Monarch.

Spain, England, Holland, Savoy, and other confederate Powers.

The Party taken by the Emperor in this War was the most advantageous to the *Ottoman* Interest the Divan could desire. It occasioned a Diversion, that gave the *Turks* Time to take Breath; and they no longer apprehended an Enemy, who, instead of augmenting his Troops and drawing them all together for the entire Conquest of *Hungary*, laid himself under the Necessity of employing them elsewhere.

It is true there was an Alliance subsisting between the Emperor, the King of *Poland*, and the *Venetians*; but as the Emperor had reduced himself to the Defensive, the *Venetians* were in no Condition to act offensively alone; and *Leopold* by an unaccountable Policy had deprived himself of the King of *Poland's* Assistance. That Hero, whose Valour and great Abilities the *Turks* had before sufficiently experienced, had a great Share in the Glory of the Campaign, which drove them out of the Empire; and *Austria* could not deny without Ingratitude it's being indebted for the Preservation of it's Capital to *Sobieſki*.

This Monarch was however not treated by the Emperor with all the Gratitude his glorious Services might give him Reason to expect. In an Interview between them, *Leopold* affected a stiff, punctilious Ceremo-

nial, and piqued himself unseasonably upon making a Prince sensible of his Superiority, who had just before recovered him *Vienna*, *Austria*, and *Hungary*, and who for no other Reward than the Glory of relieving an Ally, had left his own Dominions, and come to preserve him from the common Enemy.

The Emperor, when he saw his Affairs on that Side were so re-established, that he could spare the King of *Poland*, was better pleased to disgust, and by that Means induce him to retire, than to multiply Obligations at his own Expence. The wretched Winter Quarters, assigned the *Poles*, were sufficiently expressive of his Sentiments in regard to them. Thus the Generosity of *Sobieski* in flying to the Relief of *Vienna*, the Prodigies of his Valour, admired even by the *Turks*, and the Dangers to which he exposed his Person in the Battle of *Barca*, had no other Return than the Coldness of a Court, from which he deserved the highest Gratitude and Acknowledgment.

The Court
of *Vienna*
oppose him
in every
Thing.

This Coldness of Behaviour was not all; they carried it so far as to do him ill Offices. *Sobieski* had desired one of the Arch-duchesses for Prince *James* his eldest Son: His Proposal was rejected, and, to add to the Refusal, Measures were taken to prevent the young Prince from espousing the Princess of *Radzivil*. The immense Fortunes in
her

her Possession seemed to the Empress a sufficient Motive for traversing that Alliance. The Imperial Minister managed so well, that the Princess was married to Prince *Charles of Neuburgh*, the Emperress Brother, notwithstanding her prior Engagement to the Prince of *Poland*, to whom, for the Security of her Promise, she had by Writing in Form resigned her Estate, in case she should fail to perform it.

In vain would the King have put this Writing in Execution. Thro' the Intrigues of the Imperial Ministers, the Diet of *Grodno* came to nothing; and all the others which he assembled during his Life had no better Success. The Court of *Vienna* thought themselves sufficiently acquitted in marrying a Princess of the House of *Neuburgh* to Prince *James*; an Alliance so well recommended, and so affecting to the Queen, that she spared no Expence however considerable to promote it.

These were not the only Difficulties the King had to surmount. He could not see without Grief *Kaminiek*, the only Fortrefs the *Poles* had on that Side, subjected to the *Turks*, and with it *Podolia*, one of the most fertile Provinces of the Kingdom. He had promised himself not only to regain them, but all the Republick had lost under the Kings, his Predecessors. This the Destiny of *Poland* would not admit. They

Misunder-
standing
between
the King
and his
Subjects.

were not now the same *Poles* who had followed him thro' Dangers with so much Ardour, when he was only Grand Marshal or General of the Crown. They seemed to have forgot their Victories under his Conduct, and betray an Indolence fit only to disconcert his Projects.

Even in his own Family sprung up two Enemies not a little formidable, as they were both Men of Capacity, and in Employments that gave them the greatest Authority.

Intrigue of
*Wielopol-
ski.*

One of them, *Wielopolski*, was Grand Chancellor of the Crown, and the Queen's Brother-in-Law. He had framed a Conspiracy, and by the Number and Quality of his Associates in the Project, was capable of occasioning great Revolutions in the State; but a Distemper, which in a few Days proved mortal, disconcerted his Scheme, and delivered the Court from that Danger. As soon as he perceived an Intrigue, of which himself was the Soul, was upon the Point of falling to the Ground by his Death, he burnt all the Letters of the Conspirators, to prevent the King's Knowledge of their pernicious Design.

Conduct of
Cardinal
*Radziew-
ski.*

The other was *Radziewski*, the King's near Relation, whom he had raised to the Dignity of Archbishop of *Gnesna*. That high Station, to which the Primacy of *Poland* is annexed, did not make so great an Impression upon him, as the King's Refusal to procure him the first Cardinal's Hat
in

in his Nomination. *Sobieski* had bestowed it upon the Bishop of *Marfeilles*, who had not a little contributed to his Election. The Pope afterwards of his own Accord granted him the Purple. This ungrateful Prelate made no other Return for these Honours, than to apply them perpetually in Opposition to the Measures, which the King his Benefactor thought fit to take for the Establishment of his Family.

Ingratitude seemed inseparable from *Sobieski's* Favour and Services. The *Sapiebas*^{Ambition of the Sapiebas} were in a great measure indebted to him for the Dignities they enjoyed in *Poland*. He had brought them out of the Duchy of *Lithuania*, where, notwithstanding their great Riches, they lived in obscurity, comparatively to the Condition in which he found Means to place them by his Credit. He did indeed make Use of them to counterpoise the Power of the *Patz*, whose Party were no way favourable to him: And that Motive the *Sapiebas* conceived equivalent to all he had done for them; so that believing themselves under no Obligation, they took upon them to oppose him in every thing: At the Diet of *Grodno* mentioned before, they entered into a Treaty with the Imperial Ministers, and dissolved it. Prince *James* was present at that Meeting, in Hopes of being admitted to accompany his Father under the Canopy, and seat himself by his Side: At which the *Sapiebas* took Umbrage,

apprehensive lest the Nation, accustomed to see that Prince so near the Throne, should resolve to place him upon it after the King's Death. Which Apprehension made a stronger Impression upon them as their own Views of it were not very remote. They flattered themselves either to secure the Crown, or at least to dismember the Duchy of *Lithuania* for themselves; which Duchy they already governed almost as Sovereigns. Sensible the King could do nothing without Diets, they always found Means to introduce such Incidents, as rendered their Meeting ineffectual. Their Quarrel with the Bishop of *Wilna* occasioned no common Disorders.

Quarrel of *Sapieha*, General of the Troops of *Lithuania*, had quartered a Garrison upon the Lands of that Bishop, who complained exceedingly of so great a Violation of his Immunities. That Prelate after several useless Endeavours excommunicated the General, who got himself absolved by *Radziewski*. This Affair divided the whole Kingdom, and was a Pretext for dissolving the Diets. The fatal Division continued during all the Reign of *Sobieski*.

Sobieski disgusted leads an itinerant kind of Life.

The King, offended to find such Diffidence and Coldness in a Nation, whose Glory was his only Aim, and piqued with the repeated Opposition of the Persons he had loaded with his Favours, at length made a Resolu-

Resolution conformable to his Age, the State of his Health, and the Interest of his Issue. From a Prince, liberal to Prodigality when only a private Person, he entirely changed his Conduct, and corrected his former Excesses by falling into the contrary Extreme.

A Court always resident in one Place could not avoid abundance of Expences to support its Grandeur. The King and Queen led an itinerant kind of Life, and never appeared in the Capital, but when the Season, or some indispensable Occasion confined them there. The *Polish* Court was sometimes seen in one Province, sometimes in another, visiting the King's Lands either in *Russia*, the *Ukraine*, or elsewhere, and by that Means saving all, that Pomp and Luxury would have consumed at *Warsaw*. The King expended little, and nothing without Reluctance. From Profusion he fell to Oeconomy, and from Oeconomy to Avarice, which Alteration has the Apology of being less the Effect of his Will than his Policy.

The Queen had made this Frugality necessary, by the great Expences she had been at in promoting the Alliances, which approached her Children to the Points she had in View. Besides the great Sums of Money she had sacrificed to the Marriage of her Son Prince *James* with the Princess of *Neubourgh*, and to that of her Daughter with the Elector of *Bavaria*; she had perfectly experienced

Motives
for strict
Oeconomy.

experienced the Force of Money, during an *Interregnum*, in determining the Parties that dispose of the Election; and she was far from being willing her Children should lose a Throne, for want of what was necessary to assure them a Number of Voices. At all Events she thought a rich and weighty Patrimony would be a Consolation to them, if they should not succeed their Father; and it must be allowed, if Riches could do it, she gave them Reason enough to be contented without a Crown.

The Age and Infirmities of the King were another Motive with her for hastening her Dispositions. As he rose to the Throne by a Gradation of Dignities, that insensibly approached him to it, his Reign did not begin till the fiftieth Year of his Age. The Fatigues of War had added very much to his bodily Infirmities; a Bloating which was turned into a Dropsy left no Room to expect he could live much longer. He did not however dye of that Distemper. It seemed to give way to the Medicines he made use of, and it was generally believed he was better in Health, when a Fit of the Apoplexy on the 17th June 1696, overthrew that Opinion. By Degrees he came to himself, as if from Slumber, when he was informed of his Danger. He then desired to take the Sacraments of the Church, which he received with great Presence of Mind; he embraced

Book I. *under* AUGUSTUS II.

11

braced his Children, recommended them to his Friends, received again the last Absolution, presently after which his Fit returned, and he expired at nine the same Evening.

His Death
June
1696.

Thus ended the Reign of one of the greatest Heroes *Poland* ever produced. He was born 1624, and made Grand Marshall of the Crown 1665. Two Years after which he rose to the Dignity of Great General of the Kingdom. To these Honours were added Grand Master of the Houshold, Palatine of *Cracow*, &c. *Poland* at that Time thought it impossible to reward an Officer sufficiently, who had delivered it from the infamous Tribute, which the weak *Michael Koribut*, who then reigned, had consented to pay the *Turks*. *Sobieski* avenged his Country by the Victory of *Cochin*. He had before recovered for the Republick sixty Towns in the *Ukraine* where the *Cossacks* had rose in Arms. A long Series of Victories or Conquests shortened the Interval between them and the Throne; and even after he was assured of it, by his Election May 10, 1674, that he might deserve the Crown by new Services, he delayed fifteen Months the Ceremony of his Coronation, to justify still better the Choice of the Republick. That Interval he applied in attaining such Advantages from the *Turks* as reduced them to sollicite a Peace. It was concluded at *Zurowna* 1675, and continued 'till Spring

His Praise.

1696. Spring 1683. That Year, so glorious to this Monarch, by the Relief of *Vienna*, opened him a new Career; the past was the Earnest of the future, and the Emperor and the *Poles* might have assured themselves of a long Series of Triumphs, had not the Jealousy of the one, and the Divisions of the others been invincible Obstacles to their Progress. When disgusted in *Germany* he would have confined himself to the Interests of *Poland*, his Generals complained, that his Presence laid them under too much restraint, and left them no Opportunity of signalising themselves; and after his having complied with their Inclinations, when the great Faults they committed obliged him to resume the Command of his Army, they seconded him so ill, that they put it entirely out of his Power to do any Thing of great Importance.


His Character.

Sobieski was to *Poland* what *Vespasian* was to the *Roman* Empire; each of them rose by the same Degrees and the same Virtues from the Command of Armies to sovereign Authority; and both are reproached with the same Failings; to finish the Parallel, *Sobieski* did not leave the Scepter to his Son. *Poland* had perhaps gained a *Titus* thereby, but the Customs of the Kingdom would not admit it, and tho' the *Poles* should have inclined to take one of his Family for the King's Successor, their Choice could not have

have been confirmed without great Difficulties. They looked upon the eldest as the Son of the Grand Marshall only, and gave the Quality of Prince Royal to the Prince born after his Father's Election. 1696.

Their Mother was not without her Hopes, Division of his Estate. till the Election undeceived her. The immense Treasures in the King's Coffers were divided equally between her self and the three Princes her Sons, and the Partition made with very good Order and Union, only three Rings and as many Watches set with Diamonds were missing; and that Loss, tho' computed at an hundred thousand Crowns, did not seem considerable enough to occasion much Enquiry. The Division of the Lands of the Royal Family took up more Time, but was conducted with the same Concord and Unity.

The Primate *Radziewski* was in the Country when an Express brought him News of the King's Death; upon which he went Beginning of the Interregnum. immediately to *Warsaw*, where he made a magnificent Entry. All the Senators then in that City, with all the great Officers of the Crown, came out to receive him, and to add to his Train. In Quality of Archbishop of *Gnesna* and Primate of *Poland*, the Regency of the Kingdom, during the *Interregnum*, vested in him, and in the same Right the Royal Authority, till the Coronation of the Successor. Upon his Arrival he repair'd to the

1696.  the King's Apartment to view the Body, and after his Prayer, and having placed a Crown set with Jewels at the Feet of the Bed, he gave the necessary Orders for calling the Provincial Diets, that prepare the general Diet. An Assembly of the Bishops, Senators, and the great Generals of *Poland* and *Lithuania* concluded with the Primate to send Circular Letters into the Provinces to signify the *Interregnum*, and give them Notice to prepare all Things for the Diet; to dispatch Couriers to all the Courts of *Europe* to notify the King's Death; to reinforce the Garrisons upon the Frontiers, and to assign them pay out of the Revenues of the Crown; to provide for the Security of *Fort-Trinity* and the other Conquests in *Moldavia*. The Precaution in regard to the Fort was the more necessary, because as it lay very near *Kaminieck*, into which the *Turks* had lately thrown a great Convoy, it was to be feared they would take the Advantage of this Conjunction to seize also upon that Place.

The Reader will excuse me for interrupting a little the Thread of this History to make some Observations essential to the right understanding of it. For the few, who have no Occasion for such Explications, there are great Numbers who do not know the Meaning of *Inferior Diets*, *Post-polite* and other Terms, with which an History

story of *Poland* must necessarily abound. 1696.
 It is an Historian's Duty to adapt himself to
 all his Readers.

The Government of *Poland* is a Mixture Idea of the
 of the Monarchical and Aristocratical; the so- Govern-
 vereign Authority is divided in great measure ment of
 between the King and the Republick, repre- Poland.
 sented by the Diet on special Occasions, or
 the Senate in the ordinary Course, when the
 Diet is not assembled.

The Senate is composed of the Bishops, The Se-
 the Palatines, the Castellans, and the ten nate.
 great Officers.

The Bishops have the first Rank, and are The Bi-
 sixteen in Number, of whom *Kiow* and *Smo-* shops.
lensko are only titular, since those Cities have
 been disjoined from *Poland* in Favour of
Muscovy. Upon a Vacancy of these Titles,
 there are seldom wanting Ecclesiasticks e-
 nough to sollicite for them, as they give the
 Title and Rank of Senators. The Archbi-
 shop of *Gnesna* is always the first Person of
 the Senate, and Head and Regent of the
 Kingdom in the Interregnum. By his Au-
 thority he can coin Money, and issue his u-
 niversal or circular Letters to all the Orders
 of the Republick, for their holding inferior
 Diets; and he can appoint the Time for
 the Meeting of the General Diet. He also
 proclaims the King upon his being elected.
 The *Poles* conceived a Prelate the fittest to
 be trusted with so great an Authority, ap-
 prehensive

1695.

prehensive if a secular Person should have it, he might abuse it to set the Crown upon his own Head. The Archbishop of *Leopol* or *Lemberg* is next in Rank.

The Palatines.

The Palatines of *Poland* are what the French call *Seneschaux* or Grand Baillics (*chief Magistrates of a certain District.*) Each of them in the Army commands the Troops of his Palatinate, presides in the Assemblies of the Nobility of the Province, and acts juridically in many other Respects. Under him is a Vice Palatine. The Thirty two Palatines of *Poland* and *Lithuania* are the first Secular Senators, and tho' generally speaking the Castellans and Starosts are of an inferior Rank to the Palatines, there is an Exception in Favour of three of the Castellans and one Starost, who have the peculiar Privilege of honourable Places among the Secular Senators of the first Order. The Castellan of *Cracow* is first Senator, the second and third are the Palatines of *Cracow* and *Poznania* alternately. The rest rank in the following Manner. The Palatines of *Vilna* and *Sandomir*, the Castellan of *Vilna*, the Palatines of *Kalisch*, of *Troki* and *Siradie*, the Castellan of *Troki*, the Palatine of *Lencicia*, the Starost of *Samogitia*, the Palatines of *Brzeskia* in *Highb Poland*, of *Kiow*, *Inowladislaw*, *Russia*, *Highb Volbinia*, *Highb Podolia*, *Smolensko*, *Lublin*, *Lossk*, *Belezi*, *Novogrodeck*, *Plosko*, *Vitepsk*,
Mazovia,

Mazovia, Podlachia, Rava, Brzescia in 1696.
Lithuania, Chelm, Meislaw, Marienburgh,
Barklow, Pomerania, Minski and Czernikow.
 Some of these Palatines are only titular, their
 Palatinates being now under other States :
Kiow, Smolensko and Czernikow are of this
 Number.

The Castellans are next immediately to the Ca-
 the Palatines, and are of two Kinds, Great ^{stellans.}
 and Little. The Great are Thirty two in
 Number, the other limited to Forty nine.
 Each of them is a Senator, the Palatine's
 Lieutenant, and chief of the Nobility in
 their respective District.

The Ten principal Officers of the Crown ^{The ten}
 are the Grand Marshall, the Chancellor, ^{great Offi-}
 the Vice-Chancellor, the Treasurer and the ^{cers.}
 lesser Marshall of the Court; which Offi-
 ces are double, the Kingdom of *Poland* and
 the Dutchy of *Lithuania* having each a
 Grand Marshall, Chancellor, and the other
 great Officers of State.

The Nobility of no Country in the World ^{Privileges}
 have carried their Prerogative to such an ^{of the Po-}
 height. None but themselves are qualified ^{liß No. ili-}
 for Offices, or can possess Estates either in
 the Kingdom or the Dutchy. The Peasants
 are all Slaves, and the Burghers, considered
 as low Artisans, or at least as Merchants,
 can hold only a few Houses in the City, or
 a little Patch of Land within a League of
 it. Strangers have no better Treatment;
 C whatever

1696.

whatever Nobility they can pretend, whatever Services they do the State in their Armies qualify them no farther, and are very fortunate if they rise to the Post of a Colonel. It seldom happens that they attain to that of a Major-General, which is much the same as a Brigadier in the Service of *France*; the Nobility have engrossed the sole Power to elect their Kings, to give them Ministers, and Senators in lieu of Council, to prescribe their own Laws, and to grant themselves Privileges. To them belongs the Defence of the Republick, when it appears that the King would exceed the Limitations prescribed him in the Treaty, (called *Pacta Conventa*) which they make with him before his Coronation.

The petty
Diet.


When an ordinary Diet is sufficient, the whole Nobility are not assembled: A multitude of Persons of Distinction could not assist at it without Confusion; nor could the largest City contain such Numbers. At such a Time the Nobility meet in their respective Palatinates, and there form those *Lesser particular Diets*, which chuse Deputies for the General Diet. Those Deputies, whom the *Poles* call *Nuncio's*, have certain Powers limited by their Instructions, amongst which is always expressed or understood, an Obligation to conserve the ancient Constitutions of the State, and the Privileges and Liberty of the Republick.

But

But on extraordinary Affairs, that require ^{1696.} an immediate Remedy, the whole Nobility are summoned, which is what they call ^{The *Pospolite*.} *Pospolite*, and has some Resemblance to the antient Arrierban of the *French* Nobility. At such a Time all the Gentlemen mount on Horseback, and none but the Chancellor and Starosts [Governors of Frontier Towns] are exempted.

The King has by Law the Choice of the ^{General Diet.} Place, where the Diet assembles; but upon the Complaint of the *Lithuanians*, it was granted them, that out of three Diets, two should be held at *Warsaw*, and the third at *Grodno* in their Dutchy; and from this Condescension it is now established into a Custom. There are two Diets for which the Law has assigned certain Places; that of the Election at *Vola*, a Village half a League ^{Place where held.} from *Warsaw*, and the Diet of the Coronation must indispenfibly be held at *Cracow*.

When the particular Diets of the Palatines have come to a Resolution, and chosen their *Nuncio's*, the Nuncio's repair to the General Diet, which always opens with the Election of their Marshall. He must be ^{Method of the Diet.} chosen alternately, either from Great or Little *Poland* or *Lithuania*, and this Election is commonly very warmly disputed. To this Charge, which expires with the Diet, a very great Authority is annexed. It is this Marshall imposes Silence, and negotiates be- ^{Choice of the Marshall.}

1696.  tween the Diet, and the King and Senate: He represents to the Throne the Sense of the Nobility in regard to the Redress of publick or private Grievances: The Court, who know the Importance of having this great Officer in their Interest neglect no Means to engage him, and in the Diets of Election the Pretenders to the Crown spare nothing that may incline him in their Favour.

As all the Courts of Justice act in the King's Name, their Jurisdiction is at an End, as soon as the Primate publishes his Declaration of the Interregnum: All private Affairs and Law Proceedings are then suspended till the Coronation of the Successor. The Jurisdiction of the Marshals only subsists as usual, and a special Court is erected to take Cognizance of what happens during the Election. After this Digression, which its being useful in preventing our frequent Interruption will excuse, I go on to the History.

Resolution
of the Pet-
ty Diets.

In several inferior Diets warm Debates had arose, and they had broke up without coming to any Resolution. At *Marienburg* Blood had been drawn by some of the Nobility, who grew so hot as to come to Blows. Nor was that of *Warsaw* more pacifick; for the rest, there had not been known a great while a more general Tranquillity amongst them. In these it was concluded that the usual Compliments of Condolence should be made

made to the Queen, and the three Princes, *James, Alexander, and Constantine*; that the Primate and great Generals should be returned Thanks for their Care of Affairs during the Interregnum, and desired to continue it for the publick Tranquillity; that the foreign Ministers should be obliged, according to Custom, to withdraw from the Place where the Diet of Election was to meet, and the whole Royal Family included in the same Regulation; that all Grievances should be enquired into, and new Articles added to the Capitulation, to which the Prince elect should be obliged to swear before his Coronation; that Regard should be had to the Conventions made with the late King, and to the Pretensions of his Family; and lastly, that the *Pospolite* or general Assembly of the Nobility should be summoned. The Nuncio's were instructed to use their Endeavours that the general Diet might terminate the Election in fifteen Days; the Nobility having engaged to unite in the strictest Manner for the Security of the Catholick Religion, the Tranquillity of the Kingdom and the Freedom of the Election.

Prince *James* being informed of the Resolution of the inferior Diets, did not stay for the Order to quit *Warsaw*, but retired, some Days before the Meeting of the general Diet, to a Castle near *Dantzick*, where he attended the Success of his Parties Measures.

1696. *The Queen his Mother returns without Regard to the Remonstrances of the Senate.* fures. The Queen, who pleased her self with believing the Resolutions of the general Diet would be more favourable than those of the Inferiour had been, imagined her Presence at *Warsaw* essential to her Son's Interest, and leaving *Zolkiew*, where the late King's Estate had been divided, she went to *Javarow*, with Intent to proceed from thence to the Capital. The Palatine of *Ploskow*, the Crown General, and several other Senators gave her to understand, that a Step of this Kind would give Offence to the Nobility, and that she could not but act against her own Interest by such a Contempt of Resolutions founded upon the known Laws. The Primate, who, 'till the meeting of the Diet summoned for *August* 29, was gone into the Country, returned the 20, and in Conjunction with the Senators, appointed the Palatine of *Calisch* to wait on the Queen. That Princess heard his Representations, and notwithstanding continued her Journey to the Capital, where she arrived the 23. and took up her Lodging in her usual Apartment in the Palace.

The 29th of *August*, the Day appointed for the opening of the Diet, it opened accordingly with the usual Ceremonies; the Cardinal Primate celebrating pontifically the Mass of the Holy Ghost. After which they went to the *Szopa*, a vast Barrack of Planks in the Form of an Hall, erected at the Expence of

of the Republick to shelter the Assembly from the Weather. It is called also *Colo*,^{1696.} and surrounded by a Ditch with three Gates to enter it. Here the Diet assembles.

According to Custom it began with the Election of a Marshal, the choice of whom^{Preliminary Diet.} was very warmly contested, but with less Surprise as it was no more than was expected. *Poland* the Less pretended it was their Turn to give the Diet a Marshal, and Great *Poland* insisted upon the same Thing; but thought fit, however, to acquiesce by Way of reserving that Right till the following Diet. They foresaw this Meeting would not be decisive, and that there would necessarily be another for the Election. *Lithuania* penetrated this Motive,^{Contest for the Choice of Marshal.} and objected, that Great *Poland* had the Right of choosing the Marshall from their Body, and ought not to deprive them of the Direction in the following Diet. The Misunderstanding rose so high, that the Bishop of *Posnania* imagining an extraordinary Method necessary to calming their Violence, came to the Assembly in his Pontifical Robes. But this Conduct was without Success. There was an Air of Extravagance in it not at all agreeable to the Nuncio's; the Tumult continued, and the Assembly broke up without coming to any Resolution. The two following Diets on the 30th and 31st had no better Success.

1696.

It was then proposed, that the Diet should be held without a Marshal; but that did not remove the Difficulty, but transferred it to another Diet, in which had the same Resolution taken Place, to prevent Feuds, whilst the Question was undecided, it was to be feared it might introduce a Custom, that would deprive their Assemblies of a Director, always necessary to the Support of good Order.

Marshal
chosen.

On the first of *September*, the Deputies of *Lithuania* put an End to this Difficulty, by declaring, they agreed that Little *Poland* should this Time appoint the Marshal. Upon which both the *Polands* made them their Compliments, and *Homieniski*, Lieutenant Colonel of the Artillery being elected, received the Staff of Office, and was installed. He thanked the Diet for their Confidence in him, expressed by an Instance of it so much to his Honour, which he promised to justify to the utmost of his Power by a Conduct, with which they should have no Reason to be dissatisfied.

Regulation
of the
Nuncio's.

On the third the Nuncio's of the Palatines put the Question, whether their Body should deliberate separately, and independently of the Senate, or should act jointly with it, for the Sake of Unanimity, and the Dispatch of publick Business. It was next moved to examine into the Regularity of Election of the Nuncio's; but as such an Enquiry

quiry must have been attended with many Inconveniences, of which Protraction was one of the least, it was resolved, the Nuncio's should join the Senate, and that such of them whose Right of Election should be disputed, should not have actual Voices in the Diet, 'till they had given full Satisfaction in Answer to the Objections against them. 1696.

After which the Nuncio's in their Formalities went to the Hall of the Senate, where the Marshal made a Speech, in which he expressed in the liveliest Terms, the sad State of the Kingdom by the King's Decease; he then complimented the Primate upon the Pains he took for the publick Service, and concluded with observing upon the good Disposition of the Nobility, to unite with their whole Power for the good of their Country. They unite with the Senate.

This Discourse was answered by the Primate, who proposed the Points, upon which the Diet was to deliberate.

I. A Confederacy of all the Members of the Republick for it's Repose, Safety, and Liberty. Proposals of the Primate. II. The Laws and Conditions, to the Observance of which the future King should bind himself, to be communicated to all who should aspire to the Crown. III. The Means to extinguish the Animosities and Divisions so troublesome in the late King's Reign, and to prevent the like Disorders for the future. IV. The Payment

1696.


Payment of the Army, and an immediate Remedy for the Seditions, which began to break out in several Places. V. The Necessity of a Provision for putting the Artillery into better Condition. VI. The Advantage of a general Coin, to prevent Disorders occasioned by the diversity of Species.

He exhorted the Nobility above all Things to avoid the Abuses, that had crept into the two preceding Elections. " That of King *Michael*, he said, was tumultuous, " That of the late King by Deputies. The " smallness of the Number ought to have " occasioned their Tranquillity; but on the " contrary, the Candidates were known to " purchase Voices by Profusions, that were " a Reproach to the Nation. It is for our " Honour to shun such Inconveniences in " the ensuing Election, and since we are now " to give the Republick of *Poland* an Head, " that may restore it's antient Splendor, " it is incumbent upon us to choose the " most deserving Person we can. Remem- " ber, I conjure you, that the Crown is " given and not sold. He then proposed, " that the Diet of Election should be re- " ferred to the following Spring," which was the seventh Point he recommended to the Consideration of the Preliminary Diet. Thus this artful Prelate, under the Appearance of giving the Nation Leisure to make
an

an excellent Choice, reserved for some time the sovereign Authority in his own Hands, and deferred the Disposal of a Sceptre, he was resolved to sell as dear as he could to the best Bidder of the Competitors. 1696.

Whilst the Primate's Propositions were in Deliberation, advice came, that the *Tartars* had made an Irruption into the Neighbourhood of *Zolkiew*; that they had taken a great Number of Slaves, drove off abundance of Cattle, and set Fire to the Corn in such a Manner as had entirely destroyed the Hopes of the Harvest; and what was still worse, this Piece of bad News was followed by another, the more ungrateful as it left the Republick no Means of revenging the Hostilities of the *Tartars*. The Army of the Crown had entered into a Confederacy, upon Pretence of not being paid for several Years past. They had chosen for their Leader, one *Bogislaus Baranowski* an Hussar in the Company of Prince *Joseph Lubomirski*, Under-Marshal of the Crown. *Baranowski* was not of the most distinguished Extraction: an Archbishop of *Gnesna* of that Name was the first who ennobled the Family.—His Audacity was the sole Occasion of their casting their Eyes on him. He was chosen unanimously Chief, or Marshal of their Confederacy. He was not rich: He began with raising Contributions, and afterwards sent Deputies to the Diet

Confederacy of the Crown Army.
Baranowski chosen chief of the Confederacy.

1696.  Diet to demand the Arrears due to the Army.

The
Queen de-
fired to
retire from
Warsaw.

Tho' this Confederacy differed very little from a Revolt, the Diet did not fail to give Audience to the Deputies: But they talked in such Terms as gave Reason to suggest, that *Baranowski* was conscious of being well supported. Those to whom the Revolt might be useful were suspected. It was next moved that the Queen should be desired to retire from *Warsaw*, for by Law, as has been already observed, the Candidates and their Relations are to be absent during the meeting of the Diet. The Primate again represented to that Princess the Injury, she would do her Family by continuing there, but without Effect. The Queen did not think fit to give into that Prelate's Reasons; which obliged the Diet to consider further upon the Occasion. The Marshal harangued the Assembly upon it; but tho' what he advanced against the Interest of that Princess was at a Distance, and indirectly, the Primate thought fit to interrupt him.

Distur-
bance in
the Diet.

It is against the Law to interrupt the Person who speaks in the Diet. The Marshal demanded Satisfaction for the Injury he insinuated was done the whole Nobility in his Person, and was seconded by the Nuncio's. As they desired the Queen's Removal, all of them almost went out of the Assembly.

Assembly. The Majority of the Senate followed their Example, and even threatened to retire absolutely. The Difference continued four Days, and could only be appeased by the Queen's retiring. On the 19th she left *Warsaw*. The two youngest Princes withdrew at the same Time with Prince *James* before the opening of the Diet.

1696.

The
Queen re-
tires from
Warsaw.

The Affairs of the Republick were however more and more perplexed. The confederate Army levied great Contributions upon the Lands of the late King, as well as upon those of the Clergy and Nobility. On the other Hand the Preparations of the *Turks* and *Tartars* kept them in perpetual Alarm. Nor was *Muscovy* without Views of improving the Opportunity, which their Difficulties made so favourable, and seemed inclined to break with *Poland*. The Resident delivered in a Letter to the Senate, in which the Czar demanded, that the King to be elected and the Republick should perform all Alliances made with *Russia*, and that the King should not continue to take any Titles from the Provinces of *Smolensko*, *Kiow*, and *Czernikow*, because, added he, those Provinces had been given up to *Muscovy* by ancient Treaties. Upon the whole the Czar's Demands did not give the Republick much Pain. He was too much embarrassed with the *Turks* and *Tartars* to undertake

Perplexity
of Affairs
of the Re-
publick.

Surprising
Demands
of the
Czar.

1696. undertake any Thing against *Poland*. So that the Senate made no Scruple to return for Answer, that when the King should be elected, he might consult with the Republick, whether it was more expedient to satisfy the Czar's Demands, or to regain by Force of Arms the Provinces, of which that Prince had possessed himself.

Answer of
the Senate.

Menaces
of *Baranowski*.

The confederate Army gave the Republick much greater Trouble than the Czar's Demands. *Baranowski's* Deputies insisted upon ten Years Arrears for thirty thousand Men, and threaten'd Military Execution if not immediately satisfied. It was universally admitted, that the Army ought to be paid, but no Body would contribute to the Money. There was no having Recourse to the publick Treasure, that was exhausted by the Practices of those, who had been in the Management of the Revenue. In this Emergency some People, who did not relish the preceding Reign, proposed that Recourse should be had to the Sums amassed by the late King. They urged, that as those Treasures had been collected from the State, it was highly consistent they should be applied to it's Occasions. In Vain did the Queen's Friends endeavour to ward this Blow by opposing the Motion, and the Diet were just upon coming to a Resolution so contrary to the Royal Family's Interest, when *Horodenski*, Nuncio from the Palatinate

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nate of *Czernikow*, quitted the Assembly and protested against all it's proceedings.

1696.

Horodenski
quits and
dissolves
the Diet.

Such a Protest sufficed to break up a Diet. It was necessary to have Recourse to the Methods usual upon such Occasions. The Senate came to a Resolution, to which the Nuncio's gave their Consent, that an Act to confederate the whole Nobility for the Conservation of the Religion, Rights and Liberties of the Republick and especially for the freedom of the Election should be prepared. The only Objections that arose, were in Regard to the Time or the Manner of the Election; but it was at last resolved it should be in open Field *May 15, 1687*, and that all the Nobility should be summoned to appear on Horseback, conformably to the Election of King *Michael*. It was further added, that such as should propose to place a *Pole* upon the Throne, should be declared Enemies of their Country. This Act was signed the first of *October* by the Primate, and the Bishop of *Poznania*, and the next Day by the greatest Part of the Nuncio's.

Confederacy of the Nobility.

The fear of Violence had induced *Horodenski* to abscond, after he had broke up the Diet. His Retreat was to *Baranowski*, from whom he desired a Detachment of six thousand Troops, upon the Assurance of his confederating the *Lithuanian* Nobility. *Baranowski* who had attempted the same Thing without Success, and was besides no

Horodenski
joins *Baranowski*.

Ways

1696.



The Man-
ner of his
Recepti-
on.

Way disposed to associate a Person, with whom she should have been obliged to divide the Profits of the Command, gave no Ear to this Proposal. He treated *Horodenski* as a Defserter from his Party, happy in his Protection, whom he only suffered as he had broke up the Diet, and by that Means favoured the Confederacy of the Army.

Motives
for the *Li-
thuanians*
not join-
ing *Bara-
nowski*.

Tho' the *Lithuanian* Nobility had refused to join their Troops with those of *Baranowski*, they were not averse to a Confederacy. Their Refusal proceeded from their desiring a Leader, more illustrious, more able, and more experienced at the Head of them. In effect after the Dissolution of the Diet, the greatest Part of the Gentlemen of that Dutchy entered into a Confederacy. Their Pretence was the Violation of their Privileges and the ecclesiastical Immunities. The Treasury of that Province was as much exhausted as that of the Crown. *John Casimir Sapieha*, Palatine of *Wilna*, and great General of the Dutchy, could not oblige an Army without Pay to observe exact Discipline. Necessity reduced him to quarter his Troops upon the Lands of the Clergy and Nobility.

Beginning
of the
Troubles
of *Lithua-
nia*.

From the Time of *Sobiecki* a like proceeding of that General's had, as we observe before, given Birth to great Commotions. *Constantine Bezestowski*, Bishop of *Wilna*, premier Prelate and Senator of *Lithuania*,
thought

thought it his Duty to defend his Immunities, and oppose the Imposition of Troops he had threatened; and finding his Menaces without Effect, had recourse to Excommunication, which however had been taken off by the Primate, in Quality of Hereditary Legate of the *Holy See*.

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The Necessities of the Army improving in the Interregnum, the General, already highly offended at the Censures thundered out against him, threw off all Reserve. He quartered Troops over the whole Bishoprick of *Wilna* and its Dependances; nor had the Bishop's Friends better Treatment. But by this Behaviour he strengthened without observing it, the Party of his Adversary, and experienced in the Consequence, that it is often dangerous to take all the Advantages, which Credit and Authority can supply. Every one making the Evil his own Case, imputed that to the Badness of the General's Inclinations which in Propriety could be only attributed to the Unhappiness of the Times.

New
Troubles

The Bishop of *Wilna* was at *Rome*, when the Troops of the Dutchy began again the Desolation of his Diocese. His Friends took his Interests upon themselves, not without Regard to their own, which were become common. *George Oginski*, great Standard-Bearer of the Dutchy, used all his Endeavours to confederate the Army of *Lithu-*

Confederacy of the
Lithuanian
Army.

1696.

ania. He found Means to corrupt a Part of it, and placed himself at the Head of the Confederacy, which soon formed a Body of four thousand Men and upwards. He was soon after joined by the Nobility of *Samogitia*, and those of the Palatinates of *Novogrod*, *Witepski*, and *Brzeskia*, and then entered upon the Lands of the Grand General and his Friends; committing great Disorders.

The Queen favours the Confederacy of *Lithuania*. *Abbe Polignac* suggested to favour it.

Some People pretend the Queen's Money contributed not a little to this Confederacy. Others however looked upon the Cardinal *Polignac* as the principal Author of it; these add, that by considerable Presents he had brought over *Oginski*, and several of the principal Lords, in order to engage them in a Party he projected to form for a Prince of the Blood of *France*, who was to be a Candidate. However it was, the grand General of *Lithuania* drew up his Troops against the Revolters, and to surprize the Enemy before they had Time to look about them, he began his march, with Design to attack them in their Trenches.

Sapieha attacks the Confederacy of *Lithuania*.

At the General's Approach, *Oginski* retreated with his Troops to *Brzeskia*. *Sapieha* followed, attacked him in *November*, and had at first some Advantage, but was repulsed in the End. Nor was he more successful in his second Attempt, to force *Oginski's* Trenches. If the Attack was made with


with Vigour, the Defence was not without Courage. The Loss hitherto was almost equal on both Sides, so that Party more fatigued with their own, than relieved by the Sufferings of their Enemy, gave into the first Proposals of Accommodation that offered.

The *Abbe Polignac* contrived this Accommodation. Apprehensive, that the Division of *Lithuania* might prove an Obstacle to the Designs he had formed, and still kept secret, that Minister engaged the under Marshal of *Lithuania*, Son of the grand Marshal, and particular Friend of *Oginski*, to negotiate the Accommodation. He went further: He promised to defray the necessary Expences, upon Condition both Parties should, by a Secret Article, unite in Favour of the Candidate he had to propose. This Negotiation had all the Success expected from it. The grand Marshal and Standard-Bearer came to an Agreement the 26th of *November* upon these Conditions; That *Oginski*, and the Confederates should return to their Duty; That the grand General should grant a general Pardon; That he should engage that the Republick should pay off half their Arrears; and that they should have the same Quarters with the Troops, who had continued in Obedience. The Day following the General of the Confederates took the Oath of

1696.

Accommodation concerted.

Conditions of the Treaty.

1696.  Fidelity to the grand General, who order'd publick Thanksgiving upon the Occasion.

Oginski's
Motives
for Accom-
modation.

The Bishop of *Samogitia* was comprized in this Treaty, but no mention was made in it of the Bishop and Chapter of *Wilna*. The Difficulty of reconciling their Pretensions with those of the grand General, was the principal Occasion of their not being included. *Oginski* too was under the Necessity of hastening the Accommodation. The Palatine of *Wilna's* Scouts had taken a Packet upon a Courier, dispatched by the Palatine of *Witepsk*, with Letters to the Queen. In it was discovered, that *Oginski* had been gained by that Princess's Money, and that all he had done was to support Prince *James's* Interest. A Discovery of this Kind would have determined the firmest of his Adherents to have renounced him. He had the Prudence to put an End to an Affair upon the Point of turning to his Confusion.

Violence
of the *Polish*
Confederates.

Whilst the Confederates of *Lithuania* were making an End of their Differences, those of *Poland* were doing as much Mischief upon the Lands of the Republick as an Army of *Turks* or *Tartars*. They had exacted thirty two thousand *Florins*, Contribution from the City of *Leopold*; the *Jews* had been obliged to pay fourteen thousand, to be exempted from quartering Troops: The City of *Zolkiew* and its Dependances,

pendances, Part of the late King's Estate, had no better Conditions. An hundred thousand *Florins* were demanded of them, and Military Execution threatened in Case of Refusal.

These Disorders encreasing daily obliged the Senate to consult Expedients for putting a Stop to them. A Conference was agreed upon at a League's distance from *Leopold*, between the Commissaries of the Republick and the Deputies of the Army, at which the grand and under Generals of *Poland* would have assisted in Person. But the Deputies of the Army refused to admit them, declaring they had nothing to transact with the Crown-Generals. *Baranowski* who apprehended nothing so much as the Republick's Compliance with the Terms he had demanded, found Means to raise new Difficulties. His Deputies insisted that the Funds appropriated for the Payment of the Troops, even of those not in the Confederacy, should be left to his Disposal, with Power to levy the Payment either by fair or foul Means; that they should have the Choice of their Quarters where they thought fit; and that they were finally determined not to separate, 'till the Election was over.

Upon the Commissaries of the Republick's refusing to comply with such exorbitant Demands, *Baranowski* sent Detachments

1696.

Conferences to prevent those Disorders.

Exorbitant Demands of the Confederates.

Hostilities begun.

1696. from his Army that committed Acts of Hostility in several Places, and even in the Territory of *Warsaw* it self. Polish *Prussia*, remote as it was, did not escape those Insults. Twelve Companies were order'd to march into it by the Chief of the Confederates, who did that Country no small Mischief. The Resolution of the Nobility of Great *Poland* prevented their suffering the same Treatment. They gave the Rebels to understand that if they advanced towards their Country they would give them the meeting at least half Way: *Baranowski* whose Design was to plunder without exposing himself, did not think convenient to drive People to Extremities, who appeared so determinate. He thought it more adviseable to throw himself into other Provinces, where he should not hazard such Opposition. Thus did an Army, intended for the Defence of the Kingdom commit the greatest Disorders, and quarter themselves at Discretion upon it.

Incurſion
of the
Turks and
Tartars.

The *Turks* and *Tartars* did not fail from Time to Time to take their Advantage of these Divisions. Before the Conferences spoken of above, they had advanced with fifty thousand Men within eight Leagues of *Leopold*, plundering whatever had escaped the Rebels. Some Troops, who had continued faithful to the Republick, endeavour'd to stop the Progress of those Barbarians.

Several

Several of them they took Prisoners, who declared their entering *Poland* was at the Instigation of some of the Nobility, who intended by that Means to oblige the Republick to hasten the Election of the King. This gave Occasion for different Surmises; tho' it was generally believed, the Incurſion of the *Turks* and *Tartars* upon the Lands of *Poland*, and the *Lithuanian* Confederacy had one and the ſame Principle.

During the ſame Conferences they were threatened with another Iruption, and Advice came, that the ſame Perſons who had called in the Infidels before, ſolicited their Return into the Kingdom. And what was ſtill worſe, the Republick, for want of Money, was in no Condition to remedy thoſe Evils. The Miniſter of *France*, under the Pretext of his Maſter's Friendſhip for the Republick, offered to dedicate an hundred thouſand Florins, to remove the *Turks* and *Tartars* from the Frontiers during the Interregnum. The greateſt Part of the Senate looked upon this Offer as a Generoſity, worthy the Acknowledgment of the Republick; but ſome of them were of a different Opinion, and diſcovered more of Intereſt than Generoſity in it. The *Caſtellan* of *Cracow* was the foremoſt to depreciate ſuch a Propoſal from an Embaſſador, who had declared a Candidate, and formed a Faction in his Favour.

1696.

Poland
threatened
with another
Iruption.

Offers of
the *French*
Embaſſador.

They are
rejected.

1696.

Motives of
his Con-
duct.

He in-
tends to
set up a
French
Prince.

France ap-
proves his
Project.

His Ad-
dress in re-
moving
Difficul-
ties.

To enter into the Motives of the *French* Minister, we ought to understand, that since the Interregnum, the *Abbe Polignac* intent upon all that passed, had observed the Queen's unsteady Motions, who sometimes endeavoured to have one of her youngest Sons elected, and sometimes acted in Favour of Prince *James*. He had remarked the Impossibility of bringing the Election of one of the youngest Princes to bear, and the Aversion of the greatest Part of the *Polish* Nobility to Prince *James*. From all which he concluded, that none of the Children of *Sobieski* would be placed upon the Throne. He had communicated these Thoughts to the Court of *France*, insinuating at the same Time, that if the Prince of *Conti* were proposed, there would be no Difficulty to form a powerful Faction in his Favour.

The Courts Instructions had been conformable to a Project, from whence they had Reason to entertain no small Hopes. The *Abbe Polignac*, who wanted no Capacity to transact an Affair of such Consequence, spared no Pains in it; he began to talk publicly of a Candidate he had to propose, but without naming whom. It was his Intention first to remove the Difficulties, that might thwart his Election. He declared, that he should not be concerned either for Prince *James* or his Brothers; a Circumstance of great Delight to many People. Some of the *Polish* Lords

1696

Lords, who had Ambition enough to aspire to the Crown, were then for treating with him: But he represented that such Pretensions must be destructive to them, as well from the Number of the Candidates, as because those, who should be excluded, would not easily acquiesce in the Preference of a Person to whom they might believe themselves equal both in Blood and Merit.

When that Minister conceived he had given the *Polish* Lords a sufficient Disgust for the Throne, he asked them where they could find a Prince capable of supporting the Reputation of a Kingdom, as renowned for Valour, as for the Liberty it had so long maintained. He shewed how vain it was to look for such an one in *Sweden*, *Denmark* or *England*, Nations from whence the *Roman Catholick* Religion was banished; and that he was less to be found in *Germany* in the House of *Austria*, unless they would expose themselves to the Loss of their Liberty, as the Examples of *Bohemia* and *Hungary* might sufficiently inform them. He went on to *Italy* and *France*, and as most of the Lords to whom he addressed himself had travelled in those Countries, it was not difficult to make them agree, that the long Tranquillity of *Italy* made that no proper Place, from whence to choose such a Prince, as *Poland* required for the Defence of its Frontiers,

1696.

Frontiers, against the warlike and barbarous Nations that surround it.

He declares his Candidate.

The Prince of *Conti* proposed.

France only could supply what it was in vain to enquire after in other Nations. This raised a Curiosity to know who the *French* Hero was whom the Embassador intended to propose. It is the Prince of *Conti*, said that able Minister, by his Birth and Virtues equally worthy the Crown. This Prince was the last of the Blood Royal, and there were Ten in the Kingdom, who by natural Right might expect to mount the Throne before him. This left *Poland* no Reason to apprehend he would ever quit it, as King *Henry* had done after the Death of *Charles* the IX. his Brother.

Effect of the Proposal.

At the Mention of this Candidate each Party had different Sentiments, which they were not afraid to express: Those who persevered for Prince *James* were in a Consternation: The *Partisans* of the House of *Austria* were in Pain: The *Abbe Polignac's* Faction expressed their Joy, and made known the Hopes they conceived; and those who had not yet taken Party, seemed in amaze, when they heard a Prince proposed, whose Reputation seemed to promise *Poland* the Recovery of the Provinces lost in preceding Reigns.

The Imperial Ministers endeavour to ward the Blow.

The Imperial Ministers strove all they could to embroil the Affair. They represented the universal Alarm of *Europe*, when

when the House of *Austria* was in Possession of the *Empire* and *Spain*, and from thence inferred, that Umbrage ought to be taken from the Ambition of *France*; that instead of favouring the Election of a Prince of that Nation, it was the Interest of all States to oppose it; that since the Treaty of *Ausburgh*, in which so many Powers had allied, was not sufficient to put a Stop to the Rapidity of *Lewis* the fourteenth's Conquests, it was no longer a Doubt, if the *Poles* should elect a *French* Prince, that all Europe would be in a Condition of Slavery, from which no Power would ever be able to extricate it.

On the other Hand the *Abbe Polignac*, in Conferences, private Conversations, and at Table, neglected nothing to obviate those Apprehensions. He observed that *Poland* had nothing to fear from a Nation so remote; that the *Poles* were besides too brave for any Nation to undertake that against them, which the *Romans* themselves were afraid to venture; that the *French*, far from distressing their Allies, made it a Duty to support them; that *Sweden* was a modern instance of that Temper, and that its Alliance with *France* ought to be remembered with Gratitude, as long as that Kingdom should possess the Provinces *France* had caused to be restored to it by the last Peace.

1696.

The *Abbe Polignac* opposes the Arguments of the Court of *Vienna*.

This

1696.
 Oppositi-
 on he
 meets
 with.

This Discourse of the *Abbe's* made Impression upon many, but did not convince all the World. He had wrote to the Bishop of *Cujavia* to engage him in the Prince of *Conti's* Interest, from whom he received an Answer no Way favourable to his Expectations. It was in Effect, that all the Measures taken in favour of that Prince's Election, would be to no Purpose; that the Republick did not affect the *French* Nation; and what confirmed their Suspicions of a *French* Prince, was the Queen Dowager's Conduct, who was a *French* Woman, and had rendered herself odious to the Publick. He added that nevertheless for his Part he thought the Prince highly worthy the Throne upon Account of his extraordinary Merits.

Answer to
 these Ob-
 jections.

The *Abbe Polignac* was not long without replying. He took Pains to remove the Bishop of *Cujavia's* Scruples. What is it, says he, that *Poland* wants in this Election? Is it not a great Prince, good, wise, warlike, magnanimous, liberal, modest, and affable, one whose high Qualities may restore the republick to its antient Lustre and Happiness. He then answered to the Difficulties objected by that Prelate. The Apprehension the *Poles* are under, continued he, of taking a King from *France*, is one of those vulgar Errors the Wise do not regard. If Queen *Mary* has done any Thing to give the Nation Reason to desire that neither herself nor her
 Sons

Sons should reign. The Prince of *Conti* is not her Son. They are indeed of one Nation, but do all the Descendants of the same Nation resemble each other in their Manners? Are the *Poles* so like, one another? The Kings *Michael* and *John* were of the same Country, but what a Difference was there between the one and the other.

The Minister of *France's* Zeal for his Candidate did not stop at these Transactions with the *Polish* Grandees. He took his Measures so well, that in all the petty Diets of the Provinces Prince *James* was excluded. This was a new Motive for the Queen's Resentment against *France*; but her Enmity to that Nation, and its Embassadour, served only to augment the *Partisans* of the Prince of *Conti*. Her Anger run so high as to make her order her Picture to be taken down from the Palace of that Minister. So strong an Instance of her Displeasure convinced a great Number of the *Poles*, who were before apprehensive of some Intelligence between that Princess and the *French* Minister, and that the Faction formed in Appearance in Favour of the Prince of *Conti* was only Address to assure Prince *James's* Success. But when this Behaviour of the Queen's had undeceived them, they came more readily into the Measures of the *French* Prince.

1696.

Success of
his Mea-
sures in
the petty
Diets.Queen's
Resent-
ment to
that Mi-
nister.

The

1696.

Reasons of
her An-
swer.

The Exclusion of the Queen's Sons, was not the only Thing, that enraged that Princess against the *Abbe Polignac*. She could not forgive his having deprived her of two Millions, and weakened her Son's Party to strengthen that of the Competitor most to be apprehended. But for the right Understanding this Fact it is necessary to go back a little.

Salutary
Counsel
given that
Princess.

The Treasures of the late King of *Poland* were deposited in the Castles of *Warsaw*, *Marienburg* and *Zolkiew*; the Queen's best Friends had advised her to put her own, and the Seal of the Republick upon them, without declaring their Amount, for they were believed far more considerable than they really were. They proposed after that, that she should offer them as a Present to the Republick. By which Act of Generosity, that Princess would have engaged the Army and the Republick in her Interests. Her Pain to deprive herself of a Treasure she had taken so much Trouble in collecting, prevented her hearkening to the most judicious, and salutary Advice that could be given. The Method she took was to consult the Embassador of *France*, and to beg his Endeavours for the Prince Royal. Whether that Minister perceived the Queen would never Sacrifice her Money, or was before resolved to set up the Prince of *Conti*, or discouraged by the Obstacles he foresaw, he declared plainly

She con-
sults the
Embassa-
dor of
France

plainly that he could not act for a Prince who had made himself the Object of his Master's Displeasure, and whose Election would be opposed in such a Manner, as left no Prospect of its Success.

What gives Reason to believe the *Abbe Polignac* had Thoughts at that Time of proposing the Prince of *Conti*, was the unlucky Counsel he gave the Queen, to apply all her Money in the Purchase of Crown Annuities in *France*. He demonstrated her Security in such an Application of it, and soothed her with the Interest she would make in Consequence. Unfortunately for her, that Princess suffered her self to be caught by his Assurances. She consented to take a Step, which naturally tended to overthrow all the Endeavours of her Son's Faction, and at the same Time it weakened his Party, was an additional Strength to that of his Competitor. In putting her Money thus out of her own Hands, she not only deprived herself of the only Recourse she had to support her Son's Interest, but that very Money, which might have been successfully applied against *France* became by this Use of it a Supply of Force to that Crown.

Reflections of this Kind could not fail to incense a Princess, who believed herself made a Tool, and who daily experienced new Subjects of Mortification. She flew out violently against the Embassador, and looked upon

His bad Advice.
She flies out against him.

1696.

upon him ever after as the Instrument of her Family's downfall. In Vain did that Minister write to her in Vindication of himself; her Manner of answering made it plain, that she was satisfied in nothing so little as his Excuses. Those Letters cleared up a-bundance of Circumstances 'till then mysterious. By them it appeared; that the Interests of the Queen, and those of Prince *James* had at first been widely different; that the Mother was not for raising the eldest Son to the Throne, but Prince *Alexander*; that their Misunderstanding having ceased, thro' the Difficulties she had met with in her Design, the Queen had chang'd her Measures in Favour of the Prince Royal; and that to prevent the Ombrage the Presence of the two younger Princes might give Prince *James*, she had sent them both into *France* with her Money.

Exclusion
of Prince
James and
his Bro-
thers.

What compleated the Distress of that Princess, was the Resolution the Petty Diets had made, to exclude all those who had either been accused, or convicted of being the Authors of the Disorders, which had happen'd during the *Interregnum*. This Storm fell almost universally upon Prince *James* and his Brothers. *Prussia* was the first to give them that fatal Stroke: It described them so well without naming who they were, that it was next to impossible to mistake the Persons intended. *Volbinia*,
Russia,

Russia, the *Palatinates* of *Lubliu*, *Plosko*, ^{1697.}
Wilna, *Novogrod*, &c. concurred in the Ex-
 clusion. The Unanimity of Provinces, so
 remote from each other, was a Matter of
 Surprise. The Prince was at a Loss to
 comprehend the Reasons of so extreme a
 Coldness for his Interests. To sound in Per-
 son the Sentiments of the Nobility about
Warsaw, he went in Disguise to *Czeresko*,
 the first District of *Mazovia*, where a petty
 Diet was then held. But he had Reason ^{Danger he}
 to repent his Curiosity. He was known ^{was in.}
 and followed by several Gentlemen, *Sabre*
 in Hand, who would have made it a very
 bad Business for him, if they could have
 come up with him.

The Exclusion of the Queen's three Sons ^{Exclusion}
 was followed by that of the Princes of *Ger-* ^{of the}
many. The Enemies of *France* were for ^{Prince of}
 serving the Prince of *Conti* in the same ^{*Conti's* At-}
 Manner; but attempted it in Vain. To be ^{tempt.}
 revenged, they published satyrical Writings:
 The Bishop of *Cujavia* amongst others sent
 circular Letters to all the Nobility, in which
 he laboured to destroy the Impressions in
 Favour of the *French* Candidate's Virtues:
 In some *Palatinates* they were rejected; o-
 thers refused to read them. At the Petty
 Diet of *Stroda*, a Gentleman asked for the
 Bishop of *Cujavia's* Letter, which he ap-
 plied in a Manner good Manners will not
 permit to repeat. The Nobility of *Russia*
 E assembled

1697. assembled at *Visnia* treated the Affair more seriously; they order'd that Letter to be burned by the Hands of the common Hangman.

Stratagem
of the E-
nemies of
France.


The little Success of this Attempt did not discourage either the Queen, the Court of *Vienna*, or the Enemies of *France*. They sought for Remedies elsewhere, which were no longer to be found in Negotiation. They had Recourse to a Stratagem, which had not however the Success they expected from it. By their Orders Letters were sent to the Court of *France*, which treated the *Abbe Polignac's* Hopes as *Chimeras*. That Minister, they said, had suffered himself to be deceived by the Royal Family's Enemies, that notwithstanding his Promises and Profusions, the *Poles* would never elect a Stranger who would draw the Arms of their Neighbours upon them, in Prejudice to the Sons of their late King. It was expected the Court of *France* would grow cool upon such Intelligence, but it was not to be so amused. The Fear however of hazarding new Expences rashly occasioned, for better Security, the Resolution of sending to *Poland* a Person to be depended on, who might either confirm the Imputations against the Ambassador, or justify his Conduct.

1697
The *Abbe*
Chateau-
neuf Envoy
in *Poland*.

The *Abbe Chateaufneuf* was charged with this Commission, to which was annexed the Title of Envoy Extraordinary. He left *Paris*

ris, secretly in *February* 1697. in Company with the Count *Towanski*, the Cardinal Primate's Nephew, who had been sent into *France* the *July* before, to notify the Death of the King of *Poland*. The *Abbe Chateau-neuf* arrived at *Warsaw* in *April*. He there discovered the Fraud of the opposite Party, and learnt in Person, that almost all the *Grandeess*, and the whole Nobility were in the Prince of *Conti's* Interest, and that only two Things were wanting, that Prince's Presence, and the Money promised.

The same Day that Envoy arrived at the Capital, the Queen had left it, by Order of the Palatinates, who had come to a Resolution to desire her to retire, for the great-^{The Queen obliged to quit War-}er Liberty of the Councils to be held there, and of the Diet preliminary to the Election. The Cardinal Primate was charged with that Compliment, which he softened to the utmost of his Power. He told her that for his Part, he should have been very glad she should have been permitted to continue at *Warsaw*; that the Ties of Blood, and his Attachment to the Royal Family and its Interest, could admit his having no other Sentiments, but that he was obliged by his Office and the express Order of the Palatinates to let her know; it was their Desire she should remove, and that they absolutely would not enter upon Business, till she had left the Place. That Princess, after hav-

1697.  ving complained with Tears in her Eyes of the Severity of such Treatment, promised to retire, as soon as the Primate should fix the Day for the Assembly. On the 10th of April she withdrew, and on the 30th came to *Dantzick*, with Cardinal *Arquien* her Father.

The Interests of her Family on a bad Foot.

This rigorous Treatment of the Queen sufficiently explained, that her Family's Interests were upon a very bad Foot. From that Time Prince *James's* Parties made no Manner of Figure. His *Partisans*, and those of the House of *Austria* had no other Thoughts, than of giving the Overthrow to the Prince of *Conti's* Faction. They would have been satisfied with the Exclusion of that Prince, without much Pain about him who should be elected, provided he was not *French*. The Queen only was still passionate to see one of her Sons upon the Throne; but convinced at last of the Impossibility of Success, she came voluntarily into the same Measures.

The Prince of *Newburgh* proposed for Form Sake.

To effect the Prince's Exclusion was now the common Bent, and several Candidates were successively proposed. The first was Prince *Charles* of *Newburgh*; him they proposed for Form Sake only, 'till another should take his Place, and furnish the Sums, neither in his Will nor his Power to distribute. He remembered how dear the two last Elections had cost his Family; a sufficient

Lesson to him against engaging on the same Bottom. 1697.

Leopold, Duke of *Lorrain* was also put up. He was at that Time perhaps less able than the Prince of *Newburgh*, to advance the Money, requisite for the Payment of the Army, and other Expences. Nor could he rely much upon the *Polish* Nation. Who refused to pay his Mother's Dowry. That Princess *Eleonora Maria* of *Austria*, Widow of King *Michaël*, *Sobieski*'s Predecessor, was married the second Time to *Charles IV.* Duke of *Lorrain*. The Family of *Patz*, which had supported that Duke's Interest at the last Election, were no longer in Credit. The Survivors of it were young, and in no Employment. Besides there was little Reason to believe, a Crown would be given to the Son, which had been refused to the Father. It was reported, that the Crown was offered to the Elector of *Bavaria*, and that he refused it by the Advice of the Emperor, and the rest of the Allies, who gave him to understand, it was only a Stratagem of the *French* Court, to draw him out of the *Netherlands*, and in Consequence to remove their strongest Support against the Enterprizes of *France*. But had the Elector of *Bavaria* so much Interest in the *Netherlands*, as could induce him to refuse a Crown, merely in Apprehension of *France*'s making that Conquest? Or would his being King of

The D.
of *Lorrain*
set up.

Doubt upon the Offers made the D. of *Bavaria*.

1697. *Poland* have prevented his taking proper Measures, for the Defence of those Countries?

Livio Odescałchi recommended by the Emperor.

The Manner of receiving that Recommendation.

All the World was surprized to hear *Don Livio Odescałchi*, Pope *Innocent* the Eleventh's Nephew, mentioned as a Candidate. The Emperor recommended him by Way of discharging by the Nephew his Obligations to the Uncle. It is well known how favourable *Innocent XI.* had been to the Emperor *Leopold*, and how opposite to *Lewis XIV.* King of *France*. *Odescałchi* offered to regale the Republick with twenty Millions of *Polish Livres*, some say thirty. He further engaged to continue unmarried if it should not be judged proper for him to have Issue. The *Italian* Candidate, tho' laughed at, had the Vanity to send the *Abbe Monte-Catini*, Consistorial Advocate, unto *Poland* to negotiate his Election. The *Poles* who did not apprehend *Odescałchi's* Head intended for a Crown, asked one another, whether *Don Livio* had any Law-Suit depending in *Poland*, and if he had not sent his *Roman* Lawyer to sollicite for him. New Ridicule rose every Day, and Pasquinades were dispersed, and Things so carried, that the *Italian* Envoy was ashamed to appear any more, and thought it advisable to return to *Rome*, after which they heard no further of *Odescałchi*.

Prince

Prince *Alexander*, second Son of the late ^{1697.} King, was again talked of, but he was not ^{P. of Baden's} of the Age prescribed by Law, and besides ^{der proposed.} his Faction was of little Credit.

The Prince of *Baden*, had better Hopes. ^{P. of Baden's} His great Actions spoke in his Favour. He ^{Hopes of being collected.} had signalized his Valour in *Transilvania*, and *Hungary*. It was agreed, that *Poland* could difficultly make a better Choice. A King accustomed to conquer the *Turks*, and capable of making an End of what *Sobieski* had left imperfect, could not but be a great Advantage to them. Besides which he was supported by the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who offered to defray all the Expences, necessary to the Success of the Election; having Reason to expect his Amends, from the Measures before concerted with that Prince; who, as it was pretended, had agreed to give up *Prussia* Royal to him. But it was to be feared, that after the Election, the Elector would not perform his Promises, and that the Prince, tho' Captain great enough in the Command of Armies, was not rich enough to pay them.

Every Thing inclined to favour the Prince ^{Przypkowski's} of *Conti*, when one of the *Polish* Senators presented a new Candidate. *John Przypkowski*, so that Senator was called, was ^{Motives for changing Sides.} *Castellan* of *Culm*, a Man of Wit, and Intrigue, who had his Fortune to make. At first he seemed to favour Prince *James's* Interest;

1697. but when he saw that Prince's Party entirely declined, he joined the Faction of *France*, Nov. 1696. Observing himself not so considerable in it as he desired, he apprehended, that those who were at the Head of it, might one Day carry the first Dignities of the Kingdom to his Prejudice. This Opinion induced him to take such Measures, as should lay the Sovereign to be elected under Obligations to him for the Crown. He cast an Eye upon the Court of *Saxony*, where a young Elector reigned, who in all Probability would not be offended in being thought of as a Candidate. To him he offered his Services. And upon the Answer he received, went secretly to *Dresden*, in Feb. 1676. where his Reception was suitable to the Merit of one, who came to offer a Crown, or the Means to obtain it.

He offers
the Crown
to the E-
lector of
Saxony.

His Re-
presenta-
tions to
that Prince. *Przependowski* began with representing to the Elector the present Condition of *Poland*. He told him Prince *James's* Party was ruined; that the younger Brothers had no Pretensions to the Crown; that the Queen supported her Measures no longer, since her Complaisance for the Ambassador of *France* had deprived her of two Millions, the only Recourse she had for the reestablishment of her Son's Affairs; that the Princes of *Newburgh*, *Lorrain* and *Baden*, had no Party formed; that the Prince of *Conti's* was strong indeed, but that it would not be impos-

impossible to destroy it, and substitute in its Place a Faction for his Electoral Highness, if he would take the same Measures for himself, that the *Abbe Polignac* had done for the Prince of *Conti*. He added that those Measures consisted, First, in the Promise of three Millions, of which the Republick was in Want for the Payment of its Armies, that Sum to be shewed to the Commissaries before the Election: Secondly, in the Presence of his Highness; and he took Occasion to observe here, that *France* would find it difficult to transport the Prince of *Conti* into *Poland*, in a Time of War, when the Passages by Land and Sea were equally shut up against him; instead of which they were entirely open on all Sides to his Electoral Highness. In the third Place it would be necessary for his Highness to turn *Roman Catholick*, and engage that the Electress his Consort should embrace the same Religion. This last Condition, which appeared the most difficult, was the most easy. All the World looked upon the Elector of *Saxony* as a *Lutheran*: But there were Certificates to prove, that he had been instructed in a Tour he made two Years before to *Rome*, and had abjured *Lutheranism* to the Prince of *Sax-Zeits*, Bishop of *Javarin*, his Relation. The *Castellan* left *Dresden*, laden with magnificent Presents, and better pleased with Promises of a much greater

1697.

Augustus
Elector of
Saxony is a
Roman Catholick tho'
believed a
Lutheran.

Valug

1697. Value returned to *Poland*, to dispose that Nation to receive the Offers he had to make from the Elector.

Perplexity of *Przedowski*. On his Arrival at *Warsaw*, he did not fail to find himself extremely at a Loss. In his Journey to *Dresden* he had consulted Prudence less than Interest. His Credit was so slender that he knew not how to get a Negotiation of his own contriving, approved. His Friends with whom he had not advised would have been exceeding glad, that he had not intermeddled in so tender an Affair. Some were of Opinion he ought to speak, others that he ought to hold his Tongue; both Methods equally dangerous, so that he who had been so bold in giving his Advice at *Dresden*, was in no Condition to follow it himself at *Warsaw*. To draw himself out of this *Dilemma*, he wrote to the Chevalier *Flemming*, who came to his Relief, with the offer of his Master's Person and Purse.

Flemming opens the Negotiation for the Elector of Saxony.

Flemming delivered the second of May a Letter from the Elector of Saxony to *Abbe Polignac*. It was rumoured, that the Elector insinuated, the King of *France* abandoned the Election of the Prince of *Conti*; and that the Ambassador returned an Answer no Way satisfactory to the Court of *Dresden*. Be that as it will, there was another Letter from that Prince to the Primate of *Poland*; who made Answer, as was said, in Terms, that

that did not give the least Encouragement. ^{1697.} The Ambassador of *France* was sensibly touch'd with the Appearance of this new Candidate. It had not been difficult for him to have given that Prince the Exclusion in the Petty Diets, had he known sooner of his setting up. But the Time for them was elapsed. The Meeting of the general Diet drew nigh. The Nobility had began their March to *Warsaw*, with Colours flying, and the Factions grew warmer than ever.

There were however properly speaking only two Parties, that disputed the Crown, ^{Two Parties dispute the Crown.} the Prince of *Conti's*, and the Elector of *Saxony's*. The first was always the strongest, the other formed itself by Degrees, secretly supported by the Court of *Vienna*, and the Complaints of the *Castellan of Culm*, That *France* did not execute its Engagements, that the Prince of *Conti* was absent, and that the Money was wanting for the Payment of the Army. This was an essential Means to turn the Preference upon the Elector of *Saxony*, who was ready to appear with the Money in Hand, to answer all the Occasions of the Republick. On the other Side the *Abbe Polignac* gave out, that the Prince of *Conti* would soon be upon the Spot, and assured them, the expected Remittances would not be delayed at all. But all his Professions did not prevent some *Polish* Lords from

1697. from wavering, upon the Prospect of other Promises nearer their Execution.

Accommodation with the Confederates comes to nothing.

About this Time News came that the Army in Confederacy was at length returned to their Obedience. It was now several Months since the Bishop of *Plosko*, Chief in the Commission, appointed by the Senate to treat with the Rebels, had seen the Accommodation he endeavoured to conclude brought to nothing. He had gone so far as to prevail upon the Rebels to approve the Offers made to them in the Name of the Senate. But *Baranowski* disowned his Deputies Proceedings, and condemned the Chiefs of them to Death, upon Pretence that he had exceeded his Instructions. The Execution had however been omitted, at the Request of the Commissaries of the Republick, who renewed the Conferences at the Castle of *Sambor*, where *Baranowski* resided.

New Conferences broke of.

These Conferences were not more successful than the former. *Baranowski* suborned some of his Companions to give out, that this treating was only a Stratagem to surprize their General. Upon which the whole Army declared against all Accommodation. *Baranowski* immediately published a Manifesto, in which he endeavoured to justify his Conduct. But the Senators assembled at *Leopold*, declared him guilty of Sedition

Sedition, and the Confederates, Rebels, and Enemies of their Country. 1697.

So vigorous a Resolution was the decisive Stroke; more than forty Companies renounced the Confederacy, and their Example staggered the rest. *Baranowski* was so intimidated by such a Turn of Affairs, that he resolved upon the same Expedient himself. He thought it better to take Advantage of the Pardon offered him, than to risque being abandoned by all his Troops. It was easy to perceive Necessity was his only Motive for a Step of this Nature. Some of the Senators were for making a severe Example of him. But *Jablonowski* interposed, that General had Powers from the Senate to treat with the Rebels, and even to give them Advantagious Conditions, provided they returned to their Duty. He declared to the Confederates, that the Republick pardoned their Crime, and gave them his Word of Honour that they might safely come to him at *Leopold*. Thither they marched with their General at their Head, who agreed to submit to whatever Count *Jablonowski* should require, (his Life and Fortune exempted.)

The Army renounces the Confederacy.

Jablonowski proposes a general Pardon to the Confederates

The Eleventh of *May* was pitched upon for an Action, that it was necessary should make some Figure. A Canopy of State was erected in the Church of the *Bernardines*, under which *Jablonowski* took his Seat.

1697. *Seat. Baranowski* threw himself at his Feet, kissed the Footstool of his Chair, asked Pardon, renounced the Confederacy, tore to Pieces the Writing that appointed him its Chief, and sent away his Standards. After which his Staff of Office was broke, and the Service of Thanksgiving began, as for the gaining a Victory. As soon as the Ceremony was over, *Baranowski* disappeared, urged by his Shame, as some believed, to hide himself; others suspected he was secretly assassinated.

Opening of the Diet. The Time for holding the Diet was now arrived. The Fort and Bridge it was customary to build upon the *Vistula* being finished the 15th of *May*, the Day fixed for the general Diet, it opened with the usual Ceremonies. After the Mass of the *Holy Ghost*, celebrated by the *Pope's* Nuncio, the Bishop of *Plosko* preached the Sermon, in which he exhorted the Assembly to have no other Interest than that of the Republick, to renounce all private Engagements, and place upon the Throne the Person, they should believe most worthy of it.

Motives that prevent the Marshal's Election. They did not proceed that Day to the Election of the Marshal of the Diet, as well because of the Multiplicity of Pretenders, as that they apprehended the Nobility of the Palatinates of *Cracow*, and *Sendomir*, in Conjunction with the *Russian* *Pospolite*, who were

were present in great Numbers at the opening of the Diet, should chuse a Marshal to their own liking. It was thought proper to refer the Election of that Officer, till the Arrival of the Nobility of the other *Palatinates*. Several Sittings passed without any important Resolution: The *Palatinates* only agreeing to desire Count *Humieniski*; who had been elected Marshal of the Preliminary Diet, to continue in that Function, till another should be elected for this. *Humieniski*, after having thanked the *Palatinates* for the Honour done him, represented, that the deplorable Condition of the Republick proceeded only from its Want of an Head, and that it was necessary their Choice should be deferred no longer.

After this Discourse one of the *Palatinates* moved, that Enquiry should be made into the Authors of the Confederacy of the Army, before the Election of the King, or the Thoughts of nominating a Marshal. The *Palatinates* of *Great Poland*, and *Cujavia* added, that to preserve the Liberty of their Suffrages, the Senators ought not to be admitted into the Place of the Election with such Numbers of Followers, nor the Anti-Chamber of the Marshal continually crowded with Livery Servants. These Motions gave Occasion for Debates sufficiently warm; and it was to be feared, that Violence would have

1697.

Humieniski desired to officiate as Marshal.

Proposals made to the Diet.

1697. have ensued, when the End of the Session suspended their Contests.

This Suspension was not of long Duration. They began *May* 19. when it was proposed to elect a Marshal. That Officer was to be chosen out of the Deputies of *Great Poland*, it being their Turn. The Queen's and great General's Party used their Endeavours, that the Choice should fall upon the Starost *Odalanowski*, Grand-Son of the great General, and Son of Count *Lefzinski*, Palatine of *Lencicia*, and Starost General of *Great Poland*. The Party against *France* were for having Count *Humienski* elected, who had been Marshal of the preliminary Diet, but it was contrary to the Law to continue him in the Diet of Election. In the Faction of *France* there were no less than eight Competitors, who were at more Trouble to agree amongst themselves, than to exclude those proposed by the contrary Parties.

Seven
Competi-
tors for the
Office of
Marshal
desist.


Nevertheless after several Days were passed, Prince *Cazimir Czartoreski*, of the ancient House of *Lithuania*, reflecting his Constitution was too weak for the Fatigues of the Marshal's Employment, withdrew his Pretension. Count *Braniski*, great Master of the Household, Son in Law of the Palatine of *Wilna*, followed his Example. An Impediment of another Kind induced this Lord to desist. He was sensible that the
Diffi-

1697.

Difficulty of speaking in Publick rendered him less fit for this Employment than another. *Potaliski* Starost of *Borzekow*, and *Czapski* Starost of *Klek*, divided the Voices of *Prussia*, and the Emulation between them was great. It was observed to them, that there was but one Employment, and that they must agree about it between themselves. But they chose rather that both should desist, than submit in any Thing to one another. To disengage Count *Sapieha*, great Master of the Horse of *Lithuania*, and Count *Dialinski*, great Master of the Horse of the Crown, and Treasurer of *Prussia*, a Stratagem was made Use of. To the first was promised secretly, that he should be chosen Marshal of the Diet of the Coronation, if he would desist at present. His Competitor, ignorant of this Address, was contented to abandon his Pretensions, sufficiently satisfied in the Notion of having prevented his Opponent's Election. The desisting of all these Pretenders, was not favourable to Count *Mieziniski*, Starost of *Wielen*. He found his Party very unequal, and made a Merit of it, from his Friends Want of Power, to offer his Voice to Count *Bielinski*, great Chamberlain of the Crown, whom the *Abbe Polignac* favoured.

That Minister had been chosen Arbitra-
tor of the Difference, between those eight
Lords, and inclined to Count *Bielinski*, who
was

The
French
Embassa-
dor arbi-
trates.

1697.  was entirely devoted to *France*, as well on Account of his Marriage with the Daughter of the late Count *Mosłeyn*, formerly high Treasurer of *Poland*, who in 1683, retired into *France*, as because he had a great Estate in that Country.

Other Debates on the Diet.

The uniting of all these Lords, in Favour of Count *Bielinski*, was a great Point gained. But there was still a great Deal wanting, before they could be assured of his Election. The Party against *France* were fully resolved, to suffer no other Marshal, than the Starost *Odalanowski*. The Obstinacy on both Sides was so great, that there was a Necessity to defer the Election. There were besides this, several Incidents that broke in continually upon the Point in Question, by furnishing new Matter for Division. When the Election of the Marshal was spoke of, some of the Nuncio's were above all Things for examining into the Grievances of the Nation from the Royal Family, and the Partisans of the Royal Family immediately insisted, that the two Treasurers should be called to Account. Others again were as stiff for an Enquiry into the Authors of the Confederacy of the Armies.

So many Divisions would not admit their proceeding to the Election of a Marshal. They were at length obliged to make that Choice *June 15.* by *Postpolite*; every Gentleman in his Turn giving his Suffrage in-

to the Hands of Count *Humieniski*. Count *Bielinski* had the Majority of Voices, and was immediately proclaimed Marshal. Thus he obtained that Dignity, which did not hold him so long as the Time it cost him in soliciting it. The Faction of *France* expressed abundance of Joy upon his Election, that did not a little flatter their Expectations.

1697.
Bielinski
 appointed
 Marshal of
 the Diet.

This Affair, tho' properly only a Preliminary, had spun out a Month entire. There was no likelihood, that the Election of the King, which was a Matter of quite different Consequence, could be determined this Diet, which was of Course to break up in twelve Days. The Nobility were grown impatient. Provisions, Money, and every Thing else began to fail; for the Sums distributed by the Candidates were not sufficient for the Entertainment of so great a Multitude of Gentlemen. The Length of the Diet was no less inconvenient to the Grantees, from the excessive Expences, they were obliged to be at. The great Treasurer of the Crown had defrayed for many Days the Palatinate of *Russia*, consisting of twelve thousand Gentlemen. Nor had the other Heads of Factions been much behind him in the same Article.

Impatience caused
 by the
 Length of
 the Diet.

These Inconveniences did not hinder their taking Measures for the Election of the King. But they acted in them with so little Concert,

Measures
 taken to
 elect the
 King.

1697. that from the first it was easy to foresee, the Election would be double. The two Parties had calculated their Force, the one which had been gratified with seeing they had carried the Point they disputed, endeavoured to improve the Advantage; the other, which had been mortified with their Enemies Superiority, laboured to strengthen themselves. They began by demanding that the Marshal elected, in Case of a double Election, should not deliver the *Diploma*, without the Consent of the Republick. This was no new Proposal; it had been used before in the same Manner at the Election of King *Michael*. But from thence it was inferred, that those who made the Demand, projected a double Election, in Case their Faction should be worsted a second Time.

*Prze-
pendowski*
labours
to weaken
the *French*
Party.

To prevent that Disgrace they had Recourse to their Address in negotiating. *Prze-
pendowski* among the rest, redoubled his Endeavours to weaken a Party, which in the present State of Things, left him no Hopes of Success for the Enterprize he had formed. The Palatine of *Wilna* seemed to him under some Irresolution; he forgot nothing that might entirely change his Sentiments. He represented to him that the Elector of *Saxony* performed his Promises, and that the Ministers of *France* contented themselves with giving fair Words. The Palatine was in some Measure brought over by the Castellan

lan of *Culm's* Discourse, and in a Council held at the Primate's, after the Marshal of the Diet's Election, complained with some Warmth, that the Promises of *France* were not executed, of the Prince of *Conti's* Absence, and of the Want of Money for the Payment of the Army. The Ministers of *France* however answered his Complaints so effectually, that he was obliged to give in to their Opinion. He also swore, with the Cardinal and many others of the Lords, to elect no other King but the Prince of *Conti*. As the Remittances were expected at *Dantzick* against the Time of the Election, that Obstacle was looked upon to be removed. To remove also that of the Prince's Absence, it was resolved to sign and dispatch Letters already prepared, to hasten his coming, which had been suspended only in Expectation of the Remittances.

1697.

Oath taken by several Lords.

The 17th of *June* and the two following Days nothing but Faction and Intrigue went forward at *Warsaw*, and in the Diet, Division, Accusation, and Recrimination were all that passed. The Enemies of the Royal Family made frequent Demands, that the national Grievances should be enquired into; to which the Partizans of that House replied, that it was Necessary above all Things to examine into the Accounts of the Treasurers. The Resolution agreed on, to refer those two Points to the Diet of the

Contention in the Diet.

1697. Coronation was the only Means to put an End to the Debates upon them. That Expedient gave Leisure to apply to the Regulation of the Articles, to which the new King was to swear, and to several other preliminary Points.


The Diet gives Audience to the Pope's Nuncio,

and the Emperor's Ambassador.

Mortifications of that Minister.

On the 20th *Davia*, the Pope's Nuncio had his publick Audience with the usual Ceremonies. In his Discourse, he exhorted the Nobility to elect a *Catholic* King, who might be useful to the Church and the Kingdom. The Day following the Bishop of *Passaw*, Ambassador Extraordinary from the Emperor, had also his publick Audience, but not without suffering several Indignities. That Minister came from *Vienna* to *Warsaw* with few Attendants. Propriety obliged him to have a Train, suitable to the Dignity of the Sovereign he represented. He had taken several *Germans* into his Service, whom he found at *Warsaw*. Those People little informed in Ceremonial, surrounded the Ambassador, with their Swords drawn, and raised : The Marshal of the Diet in coming to conduct him to the Assembly observed it, and expressed himself in very high Terms, threatening if they did not put up their Swords, he would order them to be attack'd immediately. The Party would not have been equal, it was therefore Necessary to obey. Another Difference arose after that Prelate's entring the Assembly, the great

great Secretary of the Crown, into whose Hands the Emperor's Letters were delivered, perceived as he advanced with them towards the Primate, that on their Inscription or Direction the Terms *Inclytæ Reipublicæ* were made Use of, instead of *Serenissimæ Reipublicæ*. This the Primate complained of, as of a State ill assumed. The Embassador, who did not foresee such a Difficulty, desired Permission to make his Apology in full Diet, which was granted, upon Condition that he should add the Word *Serenissimæ* with his own Hand, and engage to have it approved by the Emperor. But he excused himself, alledging that it exceeded his Power to alter any Thing in the Stile of the Imperial Chancery, so that his Letter was not received. These Mortifications were only a Prelude to those, he was to experience that Day. The People in his Train had placed themselves round him in such a Manner, as hindred him from being seen. This gave Offence, and Signs were made to them to remove, but they chose to lie down upon the Ground. The Embassador himself was reprimanded upon it. Whilst he spoke he was frequently interrupted, because he made Use of the Term *Vos* instead of the Terms of Honour due to a Republick free and crowned. His Discourse he read, and continued it without changing his Expressions in any Thing, whilst several

1697.


1697. Persons apostrophised upon it, without any Manner of Ceremony. He was so disorder'd by this Usage, that he bled at the Nose, which relieved him opportunely from further Trouble. It is observable that he had began to recommend Prince *James*.

The
French Mi-
nister a-
voids the
Insults in-
tended.

The *Abbe Polignac* was to have Audience the next Day, being the twenty second, and the opposite Party were resolved to interrupt him in Revenge of the Imperial Minister's Mortifications. You have insulted our Embassador, said *Jablonowski* Starost of *Olszten*, to Morrow we shall return the Favour by yours. Some Persons were so wise to intimate this to the *French* Minister. It was apprehended, he was not so flegmatick to suffer patiently an Indignity of that Nature. His Conduct upon the Occasion was not to expose himself to it. He contented himself with printing what he had to offer, and having it delivered to each Palatinate under his Hand and Seal.

Surprising
Proposal
made him.

On the twenty third a Compliment was made that Minister, which he had not expected, if Count *Priemski* Castellan of *Kalisz*, his particular Friend had not given him Notice of it beforehand. The Bishop of *Plesko*, and the Count's *Dzialinski* and *Wapowski* waited upon him from the Council. They desired he would consider the Misfortunes that threatened *Poland*, that the double Election they had foreseen was inevitable, be-
cause

cause it was out of their Power to provide the necessary Succours, which were the only Means to prevent or defeat it; that they had found an Expedient to secure the Repose of the Republick, and the Honour of *France* without being any Prejudice to his Excellency. Which Expedient was, to consent that the Crown should be given to the Elector of *Saxony*, who would engage to return the King of *France* the Money he had expended, and have all the Regard for the Embassador's Person, which could be expected from the Gratitude of a Prince, indebted to him for a Crown.

1697.

The *Abbe Polignac*, after having taken some Time to prepare his Answer, attended the three Deputies to the Senate. He there represented, of what Consequence it was to prevent the Elector of *Saxony's* being placed on the Throne, the Danger of being under the Government of a *German Prince*, as well in Regard to the Liberties as Religion of *Poland*. These Representations were followed with Menaces. He told them he was assured of a Body of the Nobility, to support the Interests of his Candidate, and that, if after all the Prince of *Conti* was not elected, his Party would at least be strong enough to support that of Prince *James*, with which he would join, and he conceived the Cardinal Primate, and the other Grandees would act in the same Manner.

His Representations
to the Senate.

1697.

Confirms
them to
the Party
of *France*.

The Embassador's Discourse confirmed the Counsel in their first Sentiments. They understood from it, that the *French* Party which was reported to be in the Decline; was stronger than was given out; on the other Hand they were afraid of falling again under the Queen's Administration. These Considerations engaged them to promise to support the Prince of *Conti*'s Interest, which they all persevered to do to the last, except *Krzyszpin*, Palatine of *Witepsk* and *Morssteyn* Castellan of *Czerskow*, who were prevailed upon to change Sides by the Promises of the Castellan of *Culm*:

Przependowski
brings over
some
Lords to
his Party.

From the Election of the Marshal, *Przependowski* had endeavoured to bring over the Palatine of *Wilna* into his Party, but he was too irresolute to be fixed to either Side. He had soon Reason not to be too much in Pain upon that Account. Besides the Palatine of *Witepsk*, and the Castellan of *Czerskow*, he engaged several other Grandees. *Potoski*, Palatine of *Cracow*, and Under-General of the Crown sent the twenty fourth, to let the *French* Embassador know, that upon the Assignment of a certain Sum of Money to him he would come into his Measures with all his Faction. But whether this Minister had not the Money, or did not think proper to hazard it, he declined the Advantage; upon which *Potoski* made his Bargain with the Castellan of *Culm*. *Jablonowski* grand

grand General of the Crown, *Joseph Sluska*, Castellan of *Wilna*, and Under-General of *Lithuania*, the Bishop of *Cujavia*, Vice-Chancellor *Tarlo*, and several others, went also over into the same Party. All these Lords had abandoned Prince *James's* Party, whose Interest they observed to be irretrievably sunk. From which Time the *Saxon* Faction, and that of *France* subsisted alone; the other Competitors being considered with Indifference in almost all the Palatinates.

The *Abbe Polignac* knew the Danger. He did his utmost to weaken a Faction, that made such head against him: He objected three Arguments to them, which would entirely have overthrown them, had they been supported by any Thing more real than fine Words. He asked how they came to think of electing a Prince, whose Nation had always been the Abhorrence of *Poland*? Whether they did not apprehend his Power? And whether his Religion alone was not a sufficient Motive for excluding him? These Reasons were not without their Effect upon the Multitude; but the Lords who had gone so far to declare for the Elector, were not at all moved by them. They found that Prince's Money sufficient to set aside their national Aversion for the *Germans*; that his Power would supply the Weakness of his Party; and that his having abjured *Lutheranism*.

1697.

Efforts of
the French
Embassa-
dor to
weaken
the Party
of *Saxony*.

1697. *anism* was Reason enough for leaving Religion out of the Question.

Conversion of the Elector what Thought of it.

It was indeed given out, that two Years before that Prince was converted at *Rome*. But as he had afterwards been seen to assist at the *Lutheran* Communion, the pretended Conversion was not much to be depended upon. It was the Opinion of some People that his Relapse rendered him still more incapable of the Crown. To prevent this Account from being looked upon as a Fable, a Certificate from the Prince of *Sax Zeitz*, his Relation, Bishop of *Javarin*, was produced afterwards to support it. Its Contents were in Effect that *June 2*, 1696, being *Trinity* Sunday, the Elector of *Saxony* had made his Abjuration to him at *Vienna*. The Chevalier *Flemming* shewed this Paper to all the World, which however convinced very few. Objections were raised against a Certificate in which neither the Witnesses nor the Church were mention'd.

Assembling of the Diet to settle Preliminaries.

The 25th of *June*, all the Palatinates assembled to conclude upon the Preliminaries of the Election, which was fixed for the next Day. All the Nobility, to the Number of an hundred thousand, and upwards, were arrived in the Plains about *Warsaw*. Each Palatinate under its own Standard, divided into Companies, the strongest consisting of eight or nine hundred Men, the weakest of two hundred. They were all

on

on Horseback, except some few Foot posted behind the Cavalry. Those Foot who were also without Sabres, and armed with Scythes, were poor Gentlemen, who had not Money to buy Horses, yet had an equal Privilege in giving their Votes. 1697.

It is customary at this Time for the Senators to harangue their Palatinates, to recommend their making the Election according to the Laws of the Kingdom. The Bishop of *Plosko* had scarce made an End of his Speech to his Palatinate, when the Gentlemen who composed it, cried out *Vivat Conti*, long live *Conti*, and gave a Volley. The Palatinates of *Siradia*, and *Rava* followed their Example, as did the three of *Prussia*. The Election was upon the Point of being anticipated, through the Impatience of the Nobility for a Sovereign. And if their Ardor had been followed, the Prince of *Conti* had been elected that Day. The Majority of the Gentlemen, who had only heard that Prince, and Prince *James* spoken of, declared entirely for the former, rejecting the latter; and had not the least Thoughts of the Elector, or the other Candidates.

The Castellan of *Culm*, and all his Faction apprehended their being surprized. To prevent which, they protested against the Behaviour of the Primate, the Bishop of *Plosko*, the Palatine of *Culm*, of the *Lubomerſki's* Propoſal of the Saxon Party.

1697. *mer ski's*, the *Sapieha's*, and the *Radzewil's* whom they accused of having concerted to anticipate the Election contrary to the Regulations. They demanded, that according to Law, it should not be made till the Candidates were first proposed, which ought not to be till the Day appointed for the Election. Their Demand was complied with. Thus the Prince of *Conti's* Partizans let his Fortune slip out of their Hands, which however did not fail to offer it self again the next Day.

Efforts of
the Parties
against
each other.


What had happened employed equally the Thoughts of each Party. The rest of the Day and the whole Night was passed in cultivating their several Interests. The Faction of *Saxony* took no small Pains to publish the Elector's Conversion, and that of *France* to have it looked upon as imaginary. Both the one and the other had Recourse to the *Pope's* Nuncio. That Minister was under no small Perplexity. To extricate himself, he promised the Party of *Saxony* to confirm the Bishop of *Javarin's* Certificate, assuring that of *France* at the same Time, that he would have nothing to say to it. He kept his Word with them that Day, but broke it the next in favour of the Elector. He thought That perhaps a sufficient Discharge of his Promise.

The Diet
prepares to
proceed to

The 26th of *June* being the Day fixed for the Election, very early in the Morning, the Assembly

Assembly met in the Church of St. *John*, ^{1697.} where the Primate celebrated Mass. The Bishop of *Plosko* preached the Sermon, in ^{the Electi-} on. which he introduced several ingenious Turns, which sufficiently explained his Inclinations, and Hopes. After Mass they repaired with the usual Ceremony to the Place of Election. The Senators took their Places in the *Colo*, and the Cardinal made a Speech wherein he described the Qualities the King ought to have, whom they proposed to elect. He proceeded to nominate the Candidates, and to give them the Praises due to their Merit. The Elector of *Saxony* was the last mentioned. We ought not to forget him, says the Primate, Honour obliges us to mention him. Nevertheless that Prince ought not to be elected, as he professes *Lutheranism*, and no Body can be assured of his Conversion founded upon such defective Proofs.

His Intention was to prepare the Assembly for a Proceeding of his, that had too much the Air of Novelty to please every Body. He set his Knee to the Ground, and raising his Hands to Heaven declared, he would never nominate the King but with unanimous Consent, except their Attachment should be to a Person worthy of being elected. Having finished his Oath he rose up. The ecclesiastical and secular Senators then took Horse, in Order to appear at the Head of their respective Palatinates, which was not usual

1697.  fual on that Occasion. They were told that the Senators having endeavoured the same Thing at the Election of King *Michael*, on the Division of the Nobility between the Princes of *Newburgh*, and *Lorain*, they fired upon them. So salutary an Hint, induced those Lords to change their Design, and as well that they might do nothing contrary to Law, as for the Security of their Persons, they returned directly. The Primate and the Marshal staid alone in the *Colo*, facing each other, to receive Dispatches, which came frequently, and to give the necessary Orders.

The Royal Family's Party seem to revive.

At first the Royal Family's Party seemed to revive. The Palatine of *Cracow*, who spoke first, and him of *Posnania*, who spoke next, remonstrated, that good Manners, the antient Usage observed from immemorial Time, and the Remembrance still recent of their great Obligations to the late King, required, that the Republick should present the Crown to Prince *James*. Upon which three Companies of *Cracow* cried out, long live *James* Son of the King, one Company of *Posnania* did the same tho' more faintly. But the three remaining Companies of the first of those Palatinates, and the five of the second cried out, long live *Conti*, and with so much Vehemence, that his Name resounded thro' the whole Field. *Wilna*, which voted third shouted also long live *Conti*, and the rest followed their Example, 'till it came

Acclamations in *Conti's* Favour.

to the Turn of *Samogitia*. Some Palatinates however had Thoughts of recommending the Princes of *Newburgh* and *Lorrain*, as well upon Account of their Birth, as because of the Alliance and Amity between the Emperor and the Republick. Other Palatinates thought fit that the advantageous Proposals of the Prince *Don Livio Odeschalchi* should be considered. 1697.

All this did not hinder the Prince of *Conti's* Party from having the Superiority. Its Opposers were afraid they should see him Elector. Suffrages for the Elector. In Spite of all their Address. To ward which Blow they engaged two Companies of *Samogitia*, to nominate the Elector of *Saxony*. That Name was odious to the *French* Faction, who threatened no less than to put all to the Sword who should dare to propose a *Lutheran*: This was the only Objection to this Prince, who had all the Recommendations that Valour, high Birth, and great Riches could give him, and was in every Respect as proper a Person as could be thought of, to reestablish the Republick's Affairs. His Adherents knew the most material Point was, to obviate the Reproach of his being a *Lutheran*, and declared every where, that the Elector was a good *Catholic*, and had made his Abjuration. As they found it difficult to be believed upon their bare Word, they added, that the *Pope's* Nuncio was ready to attest it on the Part of his Holiness. Scarce any Body but a few poor Gentlemen, to
G whom

1697. whom the Castellan of *Culm*, had given Liquors and a Crown a Piece, were satisfied with this Declaration. Others demanded to see the Nuncio's Attestation.

Method of
the Imperial
Minister in
Favour of the
Saxon Party.

That Attestation was still wanting, and it was with Difficulty they got it. The Nuncio had not forgot his Promise of the Day before. The Bishop of *Passaw* undertook for the Success of that Affair. He waited on the Nuncio, and let him know, that if he did not give it immediately, he must resolve to see the Prince of *Conti* elected without Opposition. The Nuncio could resist no longer; he took the Bishop of *Javarin's* Letter, and underwrote his Acknowledgment of that Prelate's Writing, with his and the Elector's Praise annexed; which did not so much belong to him. About eleven in the Morning, the Castellan of *Culm* brought this Piece in Person to the Camp. He held it out in his Hand, and order'd his People to publish in a loud Voice, that the Pope's Nuncio declared the Elector of *Saxony* a good *Catholick*, and that the Holy Father demanded the Crown for that Prince.

The Elector's
Party
grows
strong.

Such an Artifice had all the Success that could be expected. A great Number of Gentlemen suffered themselves to be caught by it, so that about Noon, the Party of *Saxony* was superior to those of *Sobieſki*, *Newburgh*, *Lorrain* and *Baden*, but still Inferior to that of *Conti*. This Turn of Things

occasioned so much Confusion, that it was no longer possible to take the Votes. To remove which Inconvenience, the Primate proposed, that those for *Conti* should move to one Side, and those for the other Candidates to the other. This Order was immediately executed. So great a Number of Companies for *Conti* marched to the Right of the *Szopa* as alarmed the *Saxon* Faction not a little. They redoubled their Efforts to form a Body on the left. Notwithstanding all their Pains, there was a great Number wanting to make it equal that of the Adversary.

Dispositions so favourable induced the *French* Party to write every Instant to the Primate, to conjure him to nominate the Prince of *Conti*, without waiting 'till next Day. But he let this Occasion, which Fortune presented, slip; as he did another, when the Palatinates drew up in Line of Battle and were ready to engage. The Castellan of *Kalisch* mounted on a strong Horse, and holding a Crucifix in one Hand, and his Sabre drawn in the other, appeared at the Head of the Palatinates of his Party, calling out on all Sides, Let God, *Conti*, and Liberty, live. Their Heats ran so high, that it was expected every Moment they would have charged each other. The Bishops of *Cujavia*, *Poznanie*, and *Livonia*, were so much convinced of it, that they took Horse, fled

1697. . .

The Primate solicited in Vain to nominate the Prince of *Conti*.

The fright of some Bishops.


1697.

to *Warsaw*, and hid themselves in the Cloister of *St. John*. It had been over with the *Saxon* and all the other Parties; the Prince of *Conti* would have found no further Difficulty, nor a double Election been to fear, had the Primate then thought fit to nominate the King. After the Flight of the three Bishops, there was no farther Apprehension of a contrary Nomination. But whether that Prelate was less inclined than he appeared, or had less Resolution than Probity, he complied at the Request of the Generals, to defer the Nomination till next Day. To justify this Conduct, it was given out that fourteen Companies of *Sendomir* and *Mazovia*, in which the greatest Strength of the opposite Party consisted, had promised to change Sides as soon as the Obscurity of the Night would admit. Whether it were so or not, he acquiesced with the Generals Proposal, and when he was solicited to declare the Prince of *Conti*, the Night approaches, said he, the Election of the King of *Poland* should not be the Work of Darkness. Let us do it to Morrow.

Artifice to
counterbal-
ance the
Party of
France.

It was agreed by all Parties to pass the Night on Horseback, and that no Body should quit their Post. The Primate himself staid there all Night in his Coach. The Castellan of *Culm* did not follow his Example. He went secretly to *Warsaw*, to the Bishop of *Passaw*, where the Envoys

of *Saxony*, *Bavaria*, and *Brandenburgh*, those of the Dukes of *Newburgh* and *Lorraine*, with the Resident of *Venice*, were assembled. They agreed that as they could do no otherwise, they would give up the Pretensions of their respective Candidates, to the Elector of *Saxony*, whose Faction was the strongest next to the Prince of *Conti*'s. They went further. They engaged to assist the Chevalier *Flemming* with their Money. The Envoy of *Brandenburgh* contributed two hundred thousand Crowns, intended for the Prince of *Baden*. The Bishop of *Passaw* one hundred and fifty thousand, which he had with him; and the rest in Proportion. There was not any of them who did not come into this, even to the Resident of *Venice*, who took Occasion to signalize himself, at the Queen's Expence. He advanced thirty thousand Crowns, which that Princess had confided to his Care, to be applied occasionally for Prince *James*'s Service. All this Money with what the Chevalier *Flemming* had before, and what the *Jews* advanced upon Bills of Exchange, made up the Sum of one Million eight hundred thousand Livres, which it was resolved to distribute properly amongst the two Parties. This was carried by Waggon's all Night long to the Camp, and was a kind of Argument of much greater Force than all the Eloquence of the Generals.

1697.  Does not succeed entirely. At first the Success did not fully answer the Design. Notwithstanding their Money, only a small Number of Companies were brought over, and some of their own quitted them to join the Prince of *Conti*, which put them upon applying again to their Address in negotiating. The three Generals, *Jablonowski*, *Potoski*, and *Sluska*, endeavoured to gain *Sapieha*, grand General of *Lithuania*; but they were tired of following a Man, who could come to no Resolution, nor determine either for the one or the other Party. The Castellan of *Culm*, and the Chevalier *Flemming* had no better Success in another Attempt. The 27th, about two in the Morning, they went to the *Abbe Polignac*, whom they informed of the great Pains they had taken all Night: That their Party was rich and well reinforced, and that he might still take the Advantage of the Offers made him. That Minister instead of answering their Proposals, reproached the first with his Treason, and the second with his Want of Sincerity. He bad him remember the Assurances he had given him the second of *May*, that the Elector would only pretend to the Crown, under the Approbation of his most Christian Majesty, and in Default of the Prince of *Conti*; and that however in direct Contradiction to his Promise given, *France* found no other Opposition than from his Electoral Highness. Upon which

which *Przependowski* and *Flemming* with-^{1697.}
drew.

At the break of Day, the Heads of the ^{Disposition} different Parties reviewed the Gentlemen, ^{of the Di-} who composed them, and all Things were ^{et to finish} disposed to compleat the Election, when to ^{the Electi-} the general Surprize, the Palatinate of *Vol-*
binia, the District of *Wielun*, and some Com-
panies of *Lithuania*, quitted their Ground,
and posted themselves between the two Lines,
in Sign of Neutrality. The Palatine of *Wil-* ^{Behaviour}
na was at their Head, tho' all his Family ^{of the Pa-}
kept in their former Posts. Expresses were ^{latine of} *Wilna.*
immediately dispatched, to know the Rea-
son of this Motion. The Palatine of *Wilna's*
Answer was ambiguous. He told them, his
Example might terminate the Difference, and
his Behaviour implied he offered his Arbi-
tration. His Meaning was not well under-
stood. However, without desiring further
Explications, the great Treasurer his Bro-
ther, his Children, and all his Family, the
Marshal of the Diet, and the Primate con-
jured him to resume his Rank. Which he
did, after representing the Danger of giving
the Emperor, the Elector of *Brandenburgh*,
and the *Muscovite* Reason to be dissatis-
fied.

This Affair was scarce over, when the ^{Confer-} Faction of *Saxony* sent out of their Line, ^{ence de-}
Gerowski, Castellan of *Gnesna*, who made ^{manded by} the *Saxon*
a Signal for some Body to advance, and re- ^{Party.}

1697. receive the Proposal he had to make; *Swiemiski*, Bishop of *Kiow*, was deputed, whom he informed, that his Party desired a Conference by Deputies, in the midst of the *Kolo*, in the Presence of the Primate and Marshal. Upon the Bishop's Report, the Castellan's Demand was granted. When the Deputies of each Side were met, those of the Party of *Saxony* said, it was not their Inclination, there should be a double Election, and that if the other Party would abandon the Prince of *Conti*, the Partisans of *Saxony* would do the same by the Elector, and all the other Candidates who had been proposed.

Their Proposals.

How received.

Opinions differed upon this Proposal. To some it appeared ridiculous, and only done from their Want of Confidence in the Success of their Measures. Others were upon the Point of being caught by it, reflecting the Party were content to exclude so many Princes, if the Exclusion of only one were granted them. The High Treasurer of the Crown proposed to the Primate, to offer the Prince of *Baden* to the Party of *Saxony*, and the Bishop of *Plosko* seemed to second him. But the Palatinates in the Interest of *Conti* flew out against those Senators, and to cut short all Conferences, that only served to waste Time to no Purpose, they unanimously called upon the Primate to nominate the King.

As

As the last Struggle, the Bishop of *Cujavia* wrote the Primate a Letter in *Latin* and *Polish*. It's Substance was, that the Primate's Attachment to the Party of *France*, had made him forget his Obligations to the Royal Family, and overthrow Prince *James's* Interest. * "I assure you, continued he, we
 "are forty Companies of us confederated in
 "Favour of the Elector of *Saxony*, in Case
 "you nominate the Prince of *Conti*. He
 "concluded with saying, that however he
 "would not attempt any Thing to the Pre-
 "judice of the Primate's just Rights, if not
 "compelled by Threats and Force."

1697.
 Last At-
 tempt of
 the *Saxon*
 Party.

This Letter was delivered to the Primate, at the Time he was going to give the Benediction to the Palatinates. They had drawn up round the *Kolo*, with Intent to make themselves Masters of it. As the Primate read the Bishop of *Cujavia's* Letter aloud, the Nobility took Occasion from it to represent the Obstinacy of the opposite Party, and their Resolution of making a double Election with forty Companies. And judging it no longer necessary to preserve any Measures, they expressed themselves in so high a Tone, that the Primate frightened with their Language, gave the Benediction, got on Horseback, and at Six in the Evening

The No-
 bility ob-
 lige the Pri-
 mate to
 nominate
 the King.

* *Sunt nobis 40 vexilla Nobilium, pro Saxone conjurata si nominabis Conti. Attamen non involabo in jura Primatialia Vestre Eminentiæ, nisi coactus Minis & Armis.*

nomi-

1697.
P. of Conti
proclaim-
ed.
Te Deum
sung.

nominated *Francis Lewis* of *Bourbon*, Prince of *Conti*, King of *Poland*, and grand Duke of *Lithuania*.

The Proclamation being over, the Primate attended by all the Nobility went to *Warsaw*, where the *Te Deum* was sung in the Church of St. *John*. The Bishop of *Poznań*, Ordinary of the Place, and the Bishop of *Livonia*, Dean of the Chapter of that Church, gave Orders to keep the Doors shut. But they were soon obliged to have them opened. Some Companies of the Nobility separated from their Body, and went to insult the Palaces of those Prelates. They went so far as to fire several Pistol Shot into their Windows, which soon brought them to hear Reason.

One would have thought, that an Election, concluded with the Acclamations of four-score thousand Gentlemen, should put an End to the Disputes, that preceded it; and to consider the small Number of the opposite Party, who had excluded themselves from the Place of Election, nothing could appear more firmly established, than the Choice of a great Majority, with the Primate at the Head of them, whose Authority of itself ought to be admitted in an *Interregnum*. Nevertheless the Disputes, or rather Outrages, continued more violent than ever: The Election was contested, and the

the double Election, contrived at first, at 1697.
last took Effect.

Whilst the Primate was returning Thanks The Saxon
for the Election of the Prince of *Conti*, the Party pro-
opposite Party, who would not have found test against
it safe to have protested during the Procla- the Prince
mation, improved the Advantage of the Pri- of Conti's
mate's Absence, and took Measures to dis- Election.
claim the Choice that had been made. At
the Head of this Party, was the Bishop of
Cujavia, and the three Crown Generals. These
four Lords read publicly a Memorial, pre-
sented to them by the Chevalier *Flemming*,
in the Name of the Elector of *Saxony*, his
Master. The Substance of this Memorial
was, that the Elector was of a most illustri-
ous House, that had given several Empe-
rors to *Germany*, of whom (*Otto*, the third)
had raised the Duke of *Poland* to the Royal
Dignity; that the Elector was young, as not
having attained the twenty seventh Year of
his Age; *Catholick*, as proved by Certifica-
tes; Rich, having only one Son, to whom
the Electorate of *Saxony* was to descend, and
consequently prevent his being of any Charge
to the Republick; Liberal, for he would
make the Republick a Present of ten Milli-
ons in ready Money, to discharge the Debts
of the Crown; Brave, as had appeared upon
the *Main*, the *Rhine*, in *Brabant*, and in
Hungary, and as he would further demon-
strate, in retaking *Cambric*, and reuniting
Walachia,

1697. *Walachia, and Moldavia, to the Crown;*
Great as this Enterprize was, the Elector
Young, Rich, Liberal, Brave, promised to
execute it, with his own Troops, at his
own Expence, and would answer for the
Success of the Enterprize.

The E-
lector pro-
claimed.

This being read in Contempt of the Rights
of the Nation, and the Authority of the Pri-
mate, the Bishop of *Cujavia* nominated *Fre-
derick Augustus*, Elector of *Saxony*, King of
Poland, and grand Duke of *Lithuania*.

Proposal
made to
the Pri-
mate.

On this News, some of the Lords repre-
sented to the Primate, the Necessity of re-
ducing the forty Companies, who had re-
tired from the Field of Election. They took
Pains to persuade him, that it was indis-
pensably necessary to make Use of Force,
when the lesser Number would not submit.
They agreed that the Remedy was violent
but they maintained it necessary, when the
Evil was of a Nature to endanger the pub-
lick Liberty. The Primate might possibly
have his Views, or rather thro' a Timor-
ousness conformable to his Genius and Cha-
racter, disapproved the Proposal. Those
who made it, came into that Prelate's Sen-
timents with so much Facility, that their
Advice seemed to have more of Ostentation,
than real Bravery in it.

The Saxon
Party sing
Te Deum.

The Bishop of *Cujavia*, after singing the
Te Deum upon the Spot, returned to *War-
saw*, to give Thanks in the Church of St.
John.

John. All this while there were Bonfires and Illuminations all over the City, and the General of the *Artillery* had ordered the Cannon to be fired, in Celebration of the Prince of *Conti's* Election. The Bishops of *Poznania*, and *Livonia*, opened the Doors of the Church of Saint *John*, for the Bishop of *Cujavia*, without waiting to be asked; and the Ceremony concluded with the Benediction of the blessed Sacrament, which the Primate had omitted; not being indeed essential.

1697.
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It was otherwise in a Circumstance, which regarded the Nomination of the Elector of *Saxony*. It was not made in the Field of Election, and was therefore null; which the Bishop of *Cujavia* did not observe, till his Friends took Notice of it, and obliged him to return to the Field next Day, being the twenty Eighth. He there made a new Nomination, which he believed sufficiently rectified the former Irregularity. He did not stop there. At Six the same Day, he made the Chevalier *Flemming* assume the Title of Envoy Extraordinary, although the Elector his Master had not given it him, and swear to the *Pacta Conventa*, in the Church of *Warsaw*. The *Pacta Conventa* consisted of thirty Articles, amongst which there was one judged proper to be Secret. These Articles recur so often in the Course of this History, and give Foundation for so many

Nullity in
the Procla-
mation of
the Elect-
or.

...

1697. many Disputes, that it is necessary to lay them before the Reader. He may therein observe, how different they are from the Elector's Offers before his Proclamation.

*Passa Con-
venta* sign-
ed by the
Chevalier
Flemming.

Art. I. The Kingdom of *Poland* shall be maintained in the Right of electing its Sovereign, and never become Hereditary.

Art. II. No King shall be elected, who is not a Member of the *Roman Catholick* Church, and does not swear to continue in the same Communion.

Art. III. Liberty of Conscience shall continue inviolable, and for what concerns the *Greek* Church, it shall be considered at the Diet of the Coronation.

Art. IV. No Sum of Money, or Present shall be taken from those, who shall solicit any Publick Employment, or Starosty.

Art. V. The Queen shall not intermeddle in any Affairs of State.

Art. VI. In Regard to the Administration of Military Affairs, the Example of *Uladislaus IV.* and *John Casimir* shall be followed.

Art. VII. The Alliances shall be renewed.

Art. VIII. The King shall endeavour to recover the *Ukraine*, and to conclude a perpetual Peace with *Muscovy*.

Art. IX. The Revenues of the Mints shall not be applied to the King's particular Advantage

Book I. *under* AUGUSTUS II.

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Advantage, nor any Money stampd without the Consent of the Republick. 1697.

Art. X. No Foreign Troops shall be introduced into the Kingdom without the Concurrence of the Republick.

Art. XI. Only Gentlemen of considerable Fortunes shall be employed in Embassies.

Art. XII. No Person shall be qualified for Naturalization, that has not rendered important Services to the Republick.

Art. XIII. No Person shall be qualified for the Administration of the King's Household, who has not rendered great Services to the Crown.

Art. XIV. No Person shall be qualified, not even with the Consent of the Senate, to enjoy the lesser Revenues of the Crown, without the Approbation of the Republick.

Art. XV. No Person shall hold two considerable Offices, such as Marshal and General, at the same Time: But those who are in the present Possession of Offices, shall continue in Employment, and enjoy their Revenues without any Diminution.

Art. XVI. The Method or Order usually followed in the Administration of Justice, shall be preserved entire.

Art. XVII. When *Caminiek* shall be retaken, the King shall fortify it at his own Expences, but the Republick shall keep it in Repair ever after.

Art. XVIII.

1697.

Art. XVIII. The King's Court, and Guard shall be composed of Natives of the Kingdom.

Art. XIX. If the King marries, he shall take Advice of the Senate, in the Choice of his Consort: If she be a Stranger, she shall not have above six Foreigners in her Court.

Art. XX. Only the *Latin* and *Polish* Languages shall be used in the King's Letters.

Art. XXI. In the Trials, called *Post Curialia*, the Laws called *Pacta Henricea* shall be observed, and when any Difficulty shall arise, it shall be regulated by the Opinion of the Counsellors Assessors.

Art. XXII. As soon as possible the Differences shall be concluded, which subsist.
* * * * *

Art. XXIII. No new OEconomy shall be introduced at the King's Table; but the ancient shall be exactly observed.

Art. XXIV. The Places vacant, when the Diets are not assembled, shall be filled up in six Weeks.

Art. XXV. The Militia shall be regulated in such Manner at the approaching Coronation, that there shall be no Occasion for foreign Troops; and Care shall be taken, that Military Discipline be exactly observed.

Art. XXVI. Salt shall be taxed, and distributed into all the Palatinates according to ancient Custom.

Art.

Art. XXVII. Every Gentleman shall be exempted from the Duty upon Salt, and have free Possession of Mines. 1697.

Art. XXVIII. The antient Liberties of the Palatinates shall remain inviolable.

Art. XXIX. Regales, (*certain Fiefs held under the Crown*) shall be reestablished in Places, where they have been abolished.

Art. XXX. All the Privileges of the University of *Cracow*, and other Cities, as well Ecclesiastick as Secular, and all Articles agreed, upon Oath at the Coronation of the Kings, *Henry, Stephen, Sigismund, Uladislaus, John Casimir*, and others, shall be renewed in this Election; and in Case of Violation, the Inhabitants of *Poland*, and *Lithuania*, shall be free and discharged from all Obedience.

Great Offence was taken at the Bishop of *Cujavia*, for having received in Presence of the Sacrament exposed, the Oath of an Envoy, a Calvinist. *James Hablecki*, great Huntsman of *Podlachia*, and *Martin Grazewski*, Under-Chancellor of *Wilna*, opposed this Act in vain. *Sabres* were drawn upon those Gentlemen, and the Prelate was said, instead of preventing the Disorder, to call out, that they might be killed. The Nuncio had the Courage to blame in Publick a Scandal of this Kind, but as he was entirely in the

H

Elec-

1697. Elector's Interest, he took no Care to require further Satisfaction.

Difficulty
of deciding
which of
the Elec-
tions was
legal.

This double Election, which gave two Kings to *Poland*, far from terminating the Dispute, left the Crown undecided between the two Competitors. If we refer to the different Accounts, published at that Time, it would not be easy to say, which of the Elections was legitimate, nor which Side had the Majority, so much Pleasure have different Writers taken to disguise the Truth on both, and to relate Things agreeably to the Interest of that Prince, whose Party they favour'd. The Prince of *Conti*'s Friends tell us, that Prince was elected by twenty Eight Palatinates, whereas the Elector of *Saxony* was nominated only by four, amongst which were some Senators, and Castellans. The Elector's Partisans on the contrary advance, that the Prince of *Conti* was nominated by fourscore Standards only, and the Elector by an hundred and fifty, but that the Primate proclaimed the Prince of *Conti* before the Voices were collected. Yet if Regard be had to the Bishop of *Cujavia*'s Letter to the Primate, and the Time when it was wrote, the Question seems to be decided. It further appears, there were Nullities in the Elector of *Saxony*'s Proclamation, of which its having been made by a Bishop, was without Doubt not

not the least. Certain it is, the Proclamation was illegal; but neither the Validity of Election, nor any Nullity was to decide it, as we shall find in the next Book.

1697.





THE
HISTORY
OF
POLAND
UNDER
AUGUSTUS II.

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BOOK II.

1697.
The two
Parties en-
deavour to
support the
double E-
lection.




THE two Parties, intent upon the double Proclamation, took each of them their Measures to support what they had done. It was necessary to determine, to which of the Prin-

ees elected, the Crown should be given. For which Reason they agreed upon a Conference with each other, upon the 28th, at which the principal Lords of both Parties assisted. *Albert Denoboff*, Bishop of *Przmi-lia*, High Chancellor of the Crown, opened the Meeting with a Speech not equally agreeable to each Faction.

After this Discourse, each Side appointed their Deputies. Those for the Prince of *Conti* demanded, that according to Law, neither of the Competitors should enter the Kingdom, send Troops into it, seize any Town, or propose to be crowned, before the Republick in a second Diet should decide which of the Pretenders should mount the Throne. But as the *Saxon* Party resolved to take Advantage of the Prince of *Conti*'s Absence, and the near Approach of the Elector, their only Answer to their Adversaries Proposal was an absolute Refusal. The *French*, said they, intend to get Time, and the *Saxons* will not lose it. The Conference broke up the fifth of *July*.

The Primate's Design was to refer the Decision of this Difference to a second Diet. But when he saw his Project disappointed, he wrote to the Elector of *Saxony*, that the Diet with an almost unanimous Consent had elected the most serene Prince, Francis Lewis of Bourbon, Prince of *Conti*. But as the

The Primate's Letters to the Elector of Saxony.

1697.  inferior Party in the Opposition, supported by the three Crown Generals, in Contempt of the Rights of the Nation, and the primatial Authority, which ought alone to take Place during an Interregnum, presumed illegally upon their Election in Favour of his Highness, he was under the Necessity of declaring, that it neither was, nor had been, the Intention of the Republick, to lay the arduous Weight of the Crown upon him, whilst he was so gloriously employed against the common Enemy of the Christian Name. He added, we therefore most earnestly entreat your Electoral Highness, not to accept as the general Consent, a Nomination made only by a few, and we conjure you by that Generosity so natural to the Greatness of your Mind, and the Quality of our good Neighbour, not to disturb our free Election, but to leave us in Tranquillity with our King, and be perswaded, that neither the Consent nor Assistance of our three Generals can be of any Advantage to your Highness, &c.

Who refuses to receive it.

It is easy to judge the Elector of *Saxony* was little inclined to pay any Regard to the Request and Remonstrances of the Primate. He would not so much as receive his Letter, under Pretext of its not giving him the Title of Majesty, a Stile, he added, not to be denied him, after his having received Advice of his Election.

The

The Primate wrote with no better Success ^{1697.} to the Emperor, and the Elector of *Bran-*
denburgh. His Letters to those Princes were ^{The Pri-}mate
 only to signify the Election of the Prince of ^{writes to}
Conti, and that he should observe entirely the ^{the Em-}peror and
 Treaties concluded with them. The Elector ^{the Elector}
 made Answer, that he saw with Pain the Di- ^{of Bran-}
 visions of the Republick, and to shew how ^{denburgh.}
 sensible he was of those Differences, offered
 his Mediation. The Emperor was more ex-
 press in Regard to the Election. * “ It does
 “ not belong to us, said he, to advise the
 “ Cardinal and *Polish* Nobility, nevertheless
 “ we should be well pleased, they would ac-
 “ knowledge the King of *Poland*, (mean-
 “ ing the Elector of *Saxony*) as it is neces-
 “ sary they should.

The little Appearance of composing the Dis- ^{His Pro-}
 ference, obliged the Primate to propose under ^{posals to}
 Hand, that there should be a new Election, ^{the oppo-}
 Those who had not espoused any Party, or ^{site Party.}
 were not very firm to that they had engaged
 themselves, very readily gave into this Motion.
 They flattered themselves that this would be
 a Means to prevent the unhappy Consequen-
 ces of a Division, so contrary to the Interest
 of the Republick. But this new Expedient
 being rejected by the Elector's Partisans, the
 Diet broke up the Eleventh of *July*, with-

* *Non nostrum est dare consilium Domino Cardinali & aliis Nobilibus Polonis; tamen optaremus ut amici fierent Regis Poloniae, quando quidem aliter fieri non potest.*

1697. out coming to any Resolution in Respect to the new Election.

The double Election divides the whole Kingdom.

A double Election could not be more strongly distinguished. In the Palatimates who had proclaimed the Prince of *Conti*, every Thing went in his Name; and those who had nominated the Elector of *Saxony* behaved in the same Manner. Each Party endeavouring in Opposition to the other, to support their own Election. When the Cardinal Primate summoned a Diet of Confirmation, for the 26th of *August* following, the Bishop of *Cujavia* on the other Side appointed the fifteenth of *September* for the Elector's Coronation, and the sixth of *August* for the Diets to precede it.

Protest of the Prince of *Conti*'s Party.

These Measures of the *Saxon* Party, obliged the contrary Faction to publish, on the twenty fifth of *July*, a solemn Protest against the Elector of *Saxony*'s Nomination, as made by the Bishop of *Cujavia*, in Contempt of the Laws of the Kingdom, without Consent of the Republick, and in Prejudice of the primatial Authority. The principal Bent of this Protest was to render the Elector's Conversion suspected; and it was added, that the *Pacta Conventa* that Prince had sworn to observe, was prepared without Authority by the Chevalier *Flemming*. As to Prince *James*'s Partisans, they were accused of having taken Measures, in Concert with some of the Senate, to disturb the Tranquillity of the

the State, to have sowed Dissension in many of the Palatinates, to have prevented by Promises or Threats, many of the Senators from joining the well affected Party, and to have openly protected the Authors and Promoters of the Confederacy of the Army, in opposing the necessary Enquiries; and after having enlarged to the utmost upon the Deficiencies in the Elector's Nomination, concluded with declaring his Election null and void.

This Protest was dated the 25th of *July*, Lords who signed it. and was made before the Magistrates of the Palatinate of *Rava*; those of *Warsaw* having refused to receive it. *Uladislaus Krofnous*, and *Alexander Magruiiski*, Nuncio's of the Palatinate of *Lencicia*, were charged with the Execution of this Act. They protested as well in their own Names, as for Cardinal *Radziewski*, Archbishop of *Gnesna*, Primate of *Poland*, the Archbishop of *Leopold*, and several other Bishops; for *Casimire John Sopieha*, Palatine of *Wilna*, great General of *Lithuania*, *Adrian Siemowiski*, Palatine of *Belts*, *Uladislaus Prziemski*, Castellan of *Kalisz*, *Alexander Felix Lipski*, Castellan of *Siradia*, and for many other Palatines, Castellans, Officers, and Nuncio's, against *Stanislaus Jablonowski*, Castellan of *Cracow*, Great General of the Crown, and *Felix Potowski*, Palatine of the same City, Under-General and the other Under-General of the Crown, *Joseph Skuska*, Under-General of

1697. of *Lithuania*, *Stanislaus Dabske*, Bishop of *Cujavia*, and other Senators and Officers, their Adherents.

Errors of
the Prince
of *Conti*.

The Prince of *Conti* might have assured himself of Success had he hastened his Arrival, and sent his Money. Those Circumstances would have given great Weight to his Party, but he delayed his coming too long, and his Remittances did not appear. His Friends grew cold in Consequence, some prevailed on by the Elector's Money, abandoned him; others more constant, declared to the *Abbe Polignac*, they could wait the Result of his Promises 'till the 31st of *July*, and no longer, and that the Lords who had signed the Act of Election, had not undertaken to persevere beyond that Time.

By what
occasioned.

The Ambassador of *France* had before dispatched two Couriers, but the first had spoiled all; by adding Circumstances foreign to his Instructions. When he was questioned concerning the double Election, to make his Account more agreeable, he replied there was nothing to fear, and that it was highly probable at that Instant, the Division subsisted no longer. To the Prince of *Conti*, enquiring whether it was necessary to hasten his Journey, his foolish Answer was, that he might safely wait 'till the Embassy from the Republick should arrive, with this Addition, that the Elector of *Saxony's* Party could not support itself long.

The

The Court of *France* looked upon this as a Truth to be relied on : But Things had another Face the next Day, when the Copy of the Elector of *Saxony's* Letter to his Minister at the *Hague*, to signify his Election, appeared. People were surprized it did not mention the Prince of *Conti's* Election, and some Letters from *Dantzick* still encreased their Astonishment. There was no knowing what to make of the News, and every Body waited with Impatience the Ambassador's Arrival, whom the first Courier persisted to assure them would come, tho' no Body was appointed for that Commission.

The second Courier arrived at the Court of *France* the sixteenth of *July*, and brought an Account of the State of the Division. He represented how necessary the Prince's Presence was, and that it was an Error to expect the coming of an Embassy, which the War made almost Impracticable. The Affair being thus explained, the Prince prepared for his Journey. However, it was thought consistent to wait till the Primate should at least notify his Election. By which Means the third Courier, dispatched the 18th of *July*, who did not arrive till the 9th of *August*, found the Prince still at *Paris*. He brought a Letter from the Primate, with the Act of Election signed by that Prelate, the Archbishop of *Leopold*, and the other Bishops in the Party of *France*, except

1697
Court of
France's
Mistake.

the

1697. the Bishop of *Cracow*, who had absented himself, under the Excuse of his great Age. The great Officers of the Crown, and *Lithuania*, the Palatines and Castellans had also signed that Instrument, except the great Marshal *Lubomirski*, who stood Neuter, and the Vice-Chancellor *Tarlo*, who had taken Party with the Elector.

P. of Con-
ti's Delay
prejudicial
to him.

But as the destined Period *July 31* was past, the Prince thought he should expose himself too much in taking the Journey. He resolved therefore to wait the farther Explication of Circumstances so much embroiled. It was, however, high Time for him to set out, and to remit the Money, as the Event demonstrated. The Shortness of the Term assigned the *Abbe Polignac*, seemed to be only a Menace to hasten the Prince's Departure, and the Return of the Money. The Zeal of his Party rekindled upon the News of the Elector's having entered the Kingdom, and taken Measures to secure himself the Crown by Force. Their Adherence to the Prince went farther than could be expected, and if it failed of Success, the Prince's Want of Diligence and the Primate's Want of Vigour were alone in Fault.

Efforts of
the *French*
Ministers.


The *Abbe Polignac* and *Chateauneuf* had nothing to reproach themselves. They spared no Endeavours to animate such as were firm to the *French* Interest, to encourage those who might despond, and to fix such
as

as their Adversaries tried to corrupt. A particular Circumstance favoured their Applications, in giving them an Opportunity of gaining Time, the only Refuge they had. The Elector of *Brandenburgh*, as we have seen, had offered his Mediation in Answer to the Primate's Letter. The Hopes of finding some Advantage from the Length of the Treaty, as well as Respect for a neighbouring Prince, occasioned the Acceptance of his Offer, and Conferences were held accordingly.

They began the 9th of *August*. In them the Elector of *Saxony* proposed Conditions which sufficiently explained how little he inclined to Accommodation. It was first demanded in his Name, that the Diet of Confirmation should not be held, or if it should not be judged proper to countermand it, that the Primate should oblige himself, by a proper Instrument, to nominate in it the Elector of *Saxony*, instead of the Prince of *Conti*. In the second Place it was required, that the Primate should issue his Proclamation, for assembling the petty Diets to precede the Diet of Coronation. Upon these Conditions, that Prince engaged, not to be crowned by the Bishop of *Cujavia*, to date his Election only from the Day it should be confirmed by the Diet, to sign such *Pacta Conventa*, as should be requisite, and to pay in ready Money to the Chiefs, and Lords of the opposite

1697.
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Confer-  
ence be-  
tween  
the two  
Parties.


1697.  site Party, the Sum of eight Hundred four-score and twelve thousand Crowns, to be divided amongst them as they should think fit.

The Answer of the opposite Party to these Offers, did not imply their being much discouraged. The 15th of *August* the Cardinal Primate delivered in Writing, to the Minister of that Prince, his Answer to the several Propositions which had been made. He therein declared as well in his own, as the Names of the Lords, who supported the Prince of *Conti's* Election, that the Opposition to the Elector of *Saxony's* Nomination, did not result from any Aversion to his person, that they paid due Respect to his Birth, and other great Qualities, but that it was founded in their Zeal for the *Roman Catholick* Religion, for which, as well as in Defence of their Liberty, they were ready to shed their Blood, whilst the contrary Party daily omitted Nothing, that might subvert the Laws of the Kingdom. In another Place he represented, that the fundamental Laws of the Nation required, that not only the King, but the Queen Consort should, before the Coronation, profess the *Roman Catholick* Religion; two Conditions agreed to by the Elector before his Nomination, and since by his Embassador, at his swearing the *Pacta Conventa*, upon Pain of Nullity of Election: But tho' they should believe that Prince's



Conversion sincere, it was certain, the Electress persisted in the *Calvinistick* Religion, and therefore they could not in Conscience consent to the Coronation of the Elector; to these Representations they added other Demands; that the Elector with his Troops should depart the Kingdom; that he should send from the Frontiers, to claim the Crown at the Diet of Confirmation; that he should give new Proofs of his Conversion; that he should renew his Abjuration in Presence of Bishops not of his own Party; that the Electress should do the same; and that he should renounce the Act of his Nomination, &c. All these Articles being previously executed, and his own Offers made good, it was agreed that the Affair of the Election should be again taken into Consideration, and that he should no longer be deemed an Usurper, but a legitimate Candidate, for whom the Nobility should have the utmost Regard.

This Confidence expressed on both Sides, <sup>Confidence of the Prince of Conti's Party.</sup> was not without Foundation. What had passed in several Diets, summoned by the Bishop of *Gujavia* for the 6th of *August*, encouraged the Prince of *Conti's* Party. Very little Regard was had to that Prelate's Letters. The greater Part of the Gentlemen had complied with them, only for the Opportunity of proving the Nullity of the *Saxon* Election, and the Irregularity of the Elector's

1697.  leſtor's Proceeding, and would not nominate Deputies for his Coronation. The Diet of *Sroda* carried it ſtill further. The Palatinates which compoſed it, entered into a Confederacy, declared War againſt the Eleſtor, and choſe for their General the Caſtellan of *Kaliſcb*, and for their Maſtral *Radomicki*. The Palatinates of *Lencicia* and *Rava*, joined this Confederacy: Beſides which a Courier arrived with Letters to the Primate from the Prince of *Conti*: That Prince after having made his Acknowledgments for the Choice the Republick had made of his Perſon, aſſured him of his Reſolution of coming to place himſelf at the Head of their Troops, and venture his Blood in Defence of their Liberties, as ſoon as he received the News he expected. From whence it appeared, the Prince had not yet received the Act of his Election, ſent him by the third Courier: But there was Reaſon to believe that Act was delivered to him ſoon after the Date of his Letter, which was ſufficient to animate the Courage of his Friends, and keep their Hopes alive.

Embassy  
to offer  
the Crown  
to the E-  
leſtor.

The Eleſtor of *Saxony* on his Part, ſeeing himſelf at the Head of a conſiderable Body of Troops, expected every Thing from his Preſence, his Money, and the Support of his Party. A few Days after his Election, the Biſhop of *Cujavia* ſent an Embaſſy to offer him the Crown. The 3d of *July*,  
thoſe

those Deputies arrived at *Tarnowitz*, to the Number of sixty, with a Train of several thousand Horse. They there found the Elector whom three of the principal Deputies harangued, one in the Name of *Poland*, another for *Lithuania*, and the third for the Nobility.

The Deputies after having been admitted to kiss the Elector's Hand, were entertained at a separate Table, whilst he dined at another raised on purpose, with the Bishop of *Passaw*, the Imperial Embassador. It is said the Palatine of *Volhinia*, who harangued that Prince in the Name of *Poland*, taking Offence at his not being placed at the same Table, began to condemn himself for the Discourse he had made, and believed he had drawn that Contempt upon himself by Expressions, that implied Meanness and Flattery. And indeed that was every Body's Opinion of his Discourse. It was surprizing to hear from the Mouth of a *Polish* Lord such Terms, as the Palatine made use of. "Your


" Majesty, said he, has triumphed over the  
 " Turks, triumph again in the Hearts of the  
 " *Polish* Nation. Let those Hands, accustomed to Victory over the Infidels, receive the  
 " Crown we offer. The People who give  
 " you their Suffrages, give them to a Prince,  
 " whom *Rome* regards as her Defender, and  
 " Christendom as it's Bulwark; to a Prince,

I

" whose

1697.

First Embassador's  
Speech.

1697.  " whose Experience, Abilities, Exploits  
 " and Victories, must make him the Esteem  
 " of all Mankind." He went on with saying,  
 " In abandoning the Errors of your Coun-  
 " try, you have found Crowns amongst  
 " Strangers. God has opened your Heart  
 " by his Spirit, and we open you the Gates  
 " of our Kingdom. Several excellent Prin-  
 " ces of the highest Merit, who aspired to  
 " the Crown, have presented themselves  
 " Candidates, since we were deprived of our  
 " King: But you alone brought God into  
 " the Dispute, you alone began with the  
 " Lord - - - We know not, said he in  
 " a lower Voice, whether it is more your  
 " Will or your Right to be our King. You  
 " were so however, without knowing it.  
 " True Happiness consists in the Merit of  
 " possessing it, and to be unconscious of  
 " such Merit. - - - He continued, " We  
 " read this Day in the general Joy the In-  
 " dulgence of Heaven in this Effect of its  
 " Providence, which descends to preside  
 " amongst us. For this Cause our Repub-  
 " lick, now yours, whose Fame is so ex-  
 " tensive, reveres you, cherishes you with  
 " its entire Affection, and desires you as the  
 " Person whom they have chosen for their  
 " King, or rather whom God hath elected  
 " to rule over them, and whom we receive  
 " with gladness. He added, come then,  
 " blest Prince, since God has decreed it so,

" since *Poland* so ardently desires it, since 1697.  
 " *Germany* approves it, since *Europe* ap-  
 " plauds it; in a Word, since all the World,  
 " except the Barbarians, share in the gene-  
 " ral Joy, and join in Acclamations. For  
 " you Christendom prepares immortal Fame,  
 " *Asia* its Spoils, and *Poland* its Diadem,  
 " covered with Lawrels. He concluded with  
 saying, " We bless what we have seen,  
 " we publish what you are, and the Hopes  
 " we entertain of so great a Prince. In fine,  
 " we will declare your Glory to the Nati-  
 " ons around, and all the World shall be  
 " filled with your Renown and Majesty.

After the Entertainment, the Company Who is ap-  
pointed  
General of  
the Elect-  
ors Troops. repaired to the Camp of the *Saxons*, where  
 the Elector reconciled the Palatine of *Volbi-  
nia*, by appointing him General of his  
 Troops. That Prince set out the 25th  
 from *Tarnowitz*, and arrived the next Day  
 at *Pukari*. He there the 27th renew-  
 ed his Abjuration, in the *Jesuits* Church,  
 to the Bishop of *Samogitia*; was present  
 at the Mass, celebrated by that Prelate,  
 and received the Sacrament from him. To-  
 wards the Close of the Mass, he swore the  
*Pacta Conventa*; after which the *Te Deum*  
 was sung. On the 28th he gave an Enter-  
 tainment to the Imperial Embassador, and  
 the principal Lords of the Deputation in the  
 Castle of the Bishop of *Cracow*. A consi-  
 derable Number of Gentlemen came thither

1697. to pay their Court, whom he received as his dear and good Friends, and told them you have elected me for your King, you are come to present me the Crown, you have invited me hither, and I am come. For Love of you I have quitted my State and my Country, not with the Design to be expensive to you, but to bring with me Plenty, my Wealth, my Arms, and all my Power; to advance as much as possible the Glory, and the Honour of your Nation, in combating its Enemies, and particularly the Enemies of the Christian Name. The Prince further assured them, that he would never draw his Sword, but in Defence of their Liberties, and the Authority reposed in him.

That Prince's Speech to the Nobility.

His Approach to Cracow.

The Elector continued on the 29th his March towards *Cracow*, and on the 31st arrived at the Gates of that City. He did not think proper to make his Entry at that Time, and stopped at the Royal Palace of *Lobzow*, situate in the Suburbs. *Francis Lubomirski* Starost of *Olsztin*, who had inhabited there some Time, was obliged to leave the House not being strong enough to dispute the Possession. He was however sufficiently so, to break up the petty Diet of the Palatinate of *Cracow*, and had the Courage to return into that Capital with the Nobility, without waiting upon the Elector. From thence he went to *Warsaw*, where he encouraged the Prince of *Conti*'s Party, who were alarmed at

at the Elector's being at *Cracow*. Can you  
 fear, said he, at this Distance a Person whom  
 neither my Friends nor me were afraid of,  
 when we were close to him. What prevented  
 the Elector's making his Entry into the  
 City was, because Count *Wielopolski*, Govern-  
 our of the Castle, refused to surrender it;  
 pretending that the Duty of his Office oblig-  
 ed him not to give it up, but to such King,  
 as the Nobility should unanimously approve.  
 He was summoned in vain, Threats did not  
 terrify him, but five thousand Crowns in  
 ready Money, and a Bracelet given his Wife  
 put all those vigorous Resolutions to flight.  
 After this Achievement the Elector made his  
 Entry into the Capital, where he immedi-  
 ately held a great Council. Opinions dif-  
 fered in it. A small Number of Lords were  
 warm for forcing the Primate, and reducing  
 the rest of the Kingdom; or at least for ad-  
 vancing to *Warsaw*, to prevent the Assem-  
 bling of the Diet, summoned for the 26th of  
*August*. Others more moderate were of O-  
 pinion, that it was better to wait the Issue  
 of the Diet, to continue however at the Ca-  
 pital, and to repair and improve its Forti-  
 fications, as much as the Time would admit.  
 This Advice was followed as the safest. In  
 Case the opposite Party should come to any  
 violent Resolutions, such a Conduct would  
 supply the Opportunity of a safe Retreat.  
*Silesia* was but a Day's March distant, where

1697.  


Holds a  
 great  
 Council  
 there.

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the Elector would be out of the Reach of Danger.

Does not  
approve  
their Re-  
solution.

The Elector was perhaps the only Person who did not approve this Resolution. He declared, that he expected to have found more Vigour in Persons, so well inclined to acknowledge him their Sovereign. His Fortitude did not fail to give Occasion for abundance of Encomiums. To act agreeably to which he was told it was necessary to introduce foreign Troops into the Kingdom, to gain by Liberality the second Class of the Nobility, and to send as soon as possible their Pay to the Crown Army. The Elector relish'd this Advice. To engage the Army in his Interest, he judg'd an important Point.

Distributes  
two Milli-  
ons among  
the  
Troops.

To which purpose he sent two Millions to the Castellan of *Culm*, and the Palatine of *Cracow*, to be distributed among the Troops. *Przependowski*, in the Distribution of this Money, told the *Towarzisz*s, or Life-Guards: "You see, we give you the Money, which *France* promises you."

Effect of  
his Libe-  
rality.

This Liberality could not fail to debauch a considerable Part of the Army. A Number of Companies with *Potoski*, great Huntsman of the Crown at their Head, went over to the Elector. Notwithstanding which, to the great Astonishment of *Europe*, the rest of the Army fiercely refused so much as to look upon the Money offered them, and continued firm to the Interest of a Prince, who



who gave them only Promises. Twelve Commissaries of the Army had actually been three Weeks at *Warsaw*, without obtaining any Thing at the Expiration of that Term, but a Continuation of ever distant Hopes, and fair Professions without Consequence.

The *Abbe Polignac* laboured with his whole Address, to keep the rest of the Army in the Party of *France*, and to reassure the *Polish* Lords, who began to be discouraged. Tho' an undertaking of this Nature was difficult without Money, he found Means to bring it to bear, and the 24th of *August*, had the Consolation to see his Applications successful. The Prince of *Conti's* Party assembled that Day in the Castle of *Windsor*, where they desired the Ambassador's Presence. Notwithstanding the Consternation occasioned by the Prince's Absence, and the Delay of the Remittances, that Minister's wise Precautions received due Praise. Among other Things, they commended his having entertained the Palatine of *Wilna's* Regiment of Foot, from the Time of the Election, to guard the Bridge of Boats upon the *Vistula*, which preserved the Communication of *Poland* and *Lithuania*. But as he seem'd without Hopes, after having pledged his Jewels, he was asked, to what Expedient he would next have Recourse against the present Danger, from the Want of Money. That able Minister was not at a Loss

1697.

Measures  
of the  
French  
Embassad  
dor.

1697. for his Answer. He proposed two Things, which both tended to attach the *Partisans* of *France* more firmly to its Interests. The first consisted in making a second Proclamation of the Prince of *Conti*'s Election, the other in forming a Confederacy, to declare War against the Elector.

The first  
rejected.

It was with great Difficulty the first of these Propositions was agreed to. However after strong Debates, it was resolved, that if before the Opening, or during the Continuance of the Diet, Advice should come of the Prince of *Conti*'s setting out for *Poland*, they should make no farther Question of agreeing with the Ambassador's Demand: But if that Prince should not come, it would be better to suppose the first Election valid. In Reality there was no great Advantage to be hoped from a second Proclamation; on the contrary it might have given Room to imagine, its being only made to rectify the Defects of the first. What was surprizing, the second Proposal of much greater Importance met with no Difficulty. It was resolved to make a *Rokozs* or Confederacy, and to declare War against the Elector as an Usurper.

The second  
received.

The Diet  
of Confirmation  
assembles.

The Diet however, which was to confirm the Election, the Republick should deem conformable to its Laws, convened. This Sort of Diets are called in the *Polish* Language *Poparcia*. It opened the 26th of *August*

*gust* in the Field of Election near *Warsaw*, <sup>1697.</sup> with a Speech made by the *Sieur Bielinski*, great Chamberlain of the Crown, and Marshal of the Diet. He said, he desired nothing so much as to signalize his Zeal for the publick Service, that in so urgent a Danger, if all the Nobility would unite, he would do his utmost to support their Measures, but without a Confederacy he could have no Concern, having taken an Oath to obey the Laws, without adhering to any Party. He afterwards made great Complaint of the Violences committed by the Elector and his Adherents, particularly their having seized the Town and Castle of *Cracow*, an evident Attempt as well upon the Liberty, as the Religion of the Republick.

In this Assembly were several of the E-<sup>Violence</sup>lector's Party, whose coming thither, was on-<sup>committed</sup>ly with Design to dissolve the Diet by protest-<sup>against the</sup>ing. As soon as the Marshal had finish'd his <sup>Elector of</sup> Discourse, *Danowski*, Nuncio of *Wilski* more <sup>Saxony's</sup> resolute than the rest, began to speak. He asked the meaning of calling the Diet of *Parcia*; as the Nation had proclaimed the E-lector of *Saxony*. He had prepared to enlarge upon the Occasion, when about six thousand Gentlemen drew their Sabres. He knew the Danger into which he had rashly thrown himself, and endeavoured to save himself by Flight; but was pursued out of the Field of Election, received several Wounds, and

1697. and was left for dead in the Arms of his Friends, who had not dared to take his Defence upon themselves. *Danowski* did not die of his Wounds, as was given out. He recovered, but lost the Use of his Limbs, and was disfigured in such a Manner, as made him a Spectacle of Horror. All who had Orders to support that Nuncio's Protest, were terrifyed by this Usage of him. They were afraid so much as to whisper their Intention, and stole away at their first Opportunity.

Primate's  
Speech.

The Primate made also a Speech, in which he explained the Reasons that ought to engage them to support the Prince of *Conti*'s Election. He took Pains to prove, that it was conformable to the Laws of the Realm, and advantageous to the publick Good, and the Safety of the Kingdom. He afterwards ordered that Prince's Letter to him to be read, in which he declared the sole Motive of his delaying his Journey, was his not having received any Letter from the Republick. The same Reason prevented his assuming the Title of King of *Poland*, because only the Republick had a Right to confer it, and of inviting him into a Kingdom, of which they had thought him worthy to be the Head. After the Receipt of this News, added the Prince, which I attend with the utmost Impatience, your Eminence may be assured, I shall repair with the utmost Diligence to the Place, where my Duty calls me,

me, and I shall use my whole Endeavours 1697.  
to make those sensible, who have done me  
the Honour of so glorious a Choice, that I  
am not unworthy of it, and that it is my  
Resolution to employ the rest of my Life,  
and to shed the last Drop of my Blood for  
the Augmentation of their Glory, and De-  
fence of their Liberty.

After this Letter was read, the Diet with  
unanimous Consent, confirmed the Prince of  
*Conti's* Election, and promised to support it Prince of  
*Conti's* E-  
lection  
confirmed.  
at the Hazard of their Lives. The 27th  
they came to no Resolution, the *Abbe Po-*  
*lignac* expecting Dispatches, that did not ar-  
rive. That Day the Marshal desired to know  
what Answer should be given to some Nun-  
cio's, from the Palatinates of *Cracow* and  
*Sandomir*, who desired safe Conduct for their  
Persons, apprehensive of being treated as the  
Nuncio *Danowski* had been. Their Reply  
was, that if they came to the Diet for the  
Defence of the Religion, the Laws, and Li-  
berties of the Republick, they would be well  
received; but if they presumed to disturb  
the Assembly with unseasonable Protests, they  
might expect to be answered in the same  
Style with that Nuncio.

The 28th the Primare, who observed their  
Disposition favoured his Designs, proposed Primare  
proposes a  
Confede-  
racy.  
a *Rokozs*, or general Confederacy. He re-  
presented on one Side, their Liberty violated  
by the Elector of *Saxony*, and their Religi-  
on.

1697.

on in Danger, if that Prince should seize upon the Crown; and on the other he observed the Moderation of the Prince of *Conti*, who was apprehensive of the least Appearance of an Attempt upon the national Liberty, of which he would not give the least Room to suspect him. He excused the Prince's deferring his Journey, and the Delay of the Remittances, sometimes insinuating the Interception, to which Bills of Exchange were liable, and sometimes the Frauds, which the Merchants of *Dantzick* might commit at the Queen's Instigation.

Which is  
resolved  
upon.

The *Rokos* was therefore resolved upon, for the Defence of Religion and Liberty; each of them engaging his Faith, Honour and Conscience to support that Confederacy, and to shed the last Drop of his Blood in the same Sentiments; and that it should not be dissolved, till the Republick should be reestablished in all its Rights and Privileges. And for the better Regulation of Business, they chose for Marshal of the Council, *Stephen de Rycht Humieniski*, Master of the Household of *Podolia*, and appointed two Deputies of each Province for his Council. *Bielinski* resigned the Staff of Office to him, reserving to himself the Right of presenting the *Diploma*, or Act of Election, to the King legally chosen, which was granted.

Difficulty  
of signify-  
ing it to  
the Elector.

In Conformity to the Custom upon like Occasions, they considered upon appointing Deputies

Deputies from the Senate, and Nobility, to represent to the Elector of *Saxony*, the Violation of the Rights and Liberties of the Republick. The Difficulty was to find Persons of Resolution enough to execute so delicate a Commission. The Bishop of *Kiow*, to remove the Diet's Perplexity upon this Account, offered himself to go to *Cracow*, and entreat the Elector in the Name of the *Rokozs*, to retire to his own Country from the Lands of the Republick. and not proceed to the Coronation, intended by the Bishop of *Cujavia*, because that Ceremony would be concluded of no Effect, as would all Statutes, Declarations, and all other Acts whatsoever made, subsisting the Protests, as well before as after the double Election. The Prelate began his Journey to execute this Commission, but upon being apprized, that the Elector's Party prepared to treat him in the same Manner, the Prince of *Conti's* had done *Danowski*, he judged it rash to expose himself to so evident a Danger, and instead of proceeding returned directly.

The same Day the Diet appointed the Palatine of *Wilna*, *Generalissimo* of the Republick's Forces; but he excused himself from accepting that Honour, till the Arrival of the Money for the Subsistence of the Troops. The Palatine of *Kiow*, to whom the same Employment was offered, refused it for the same Reasons. It had been difficult after this

1697.  
No Body  
will accept  
the Com-  
mand of  
the *Rokozs*.

to

1697. to have found a Person, that would take it upon him. It was therefore thought proper not to appoint any Body, and resolved that the Prince of *Conti* upon his Arrival, might dispose of that Office, in Favour of whom he should think fit.

*Szopa* demolished.

As soon as the Act of Confederacy was ready, the Primate order'd the *Szopa*, or Enclosure of the Field of Election to be thrown down. On the 29th the Palatine of *Plesko* was summoned to surrender the Castle of *Warsaw*, of which he was Governor. He made Difficulties in doing it. Upon which the Palatine of *Kiow* ordered twelve Pieces of Cannon to be drawn from the Arsenal, and pointed against the House of that Senator. The Fear of seeing a magnificent Palace demolished, induced him to surrender the Castle, into which the Primate entered with a numerous Train of Followers, and proceeded to hold a Council in the Hall of the Senate. They there read the Act of Confederacy, which the Primate signed first, and afterwards the Palatine of *Wilna*, and the rest of the Senators, the Nuncio's, and the Gentlemen, with the Addition of this Clause, *I promise, engage, and swear to the Performance of the above written.* After which they took the Oath in *Caput & in Animam*, upon Life and Salvation. A Gentleman of the *Saxon* Party having been discovered among the Crowd, they would have

Councils held at *Warsaw*.



have thrown him out of the Window, if he had not had the Address to disengage from those, who seized him, and to throw himself at the Feet of the Primate, who, covering him with his Mantle, saved his Life. 1697.

The following Days they agreed upon several Articles to support the Confederacy; and came to a Resolution to write to the Bishop of *Cujavia* and *Cracow*, and exhort them, not to expose themselves to the Resentment of the Republick, in crowning the Elector of *Saxony*, for each Party stiled itself the Republick, and assumed the Authority of acting in the Name of the whole Nation. At the same Time the Bishop of *Kiow*, and the Castellan *Zurnowski* were appointed to communicate to the Army the Resolutions of the Diet, and to persuade them to join in the Confederacy. They concluded with desiring the Primate to hasten his Proclamations, for the assembling the *Polite* the 15th of *September*; in order for the whole Nobility to march against the Elector of *Saxony*, if he refused to depart the Kingdom. Measures of the Confederates.

The Intention at Bottom was less to oblige the Elector to remove from the Lands of the Republick, than to prevent the Coronation of that Prince, fixed for the 15th of *September*. The Kings of *Poland* have a Right as soon as they are crowned, to dispose of the vacant Employments, of which there was Their Motives.

1697. was at that Time a great Number, thro' the length of the Interregnum, which soothed the Ambition of many. It was not doubted, but the Elector upon his Coronation would distribute those Offices for which Reason they endeavoured to prevent a Ceremony by Force, that had put it into his Power to dispose of them. But if the Prince of *Conti's* Party were active in taking vigorous Resolutions, they wanted Ardour to put them in Execution. Besides the *Saxon* Army was at *Cracow*; those of the Crown and *Lithuania* would not move without their Pay, and the assembling the Nobility was difficult for the same Reason. All which obliged them to prefer Negotiation.

Negotia-  
tion set on  
Foot. The *Pope's* Nuncio would have been well satisfy'd to have been admitted Arbitrator. But he had declared himself too openly for the Elector against the Prince of *Conti*, and tho' upon Complaints made of his Behaviour, he had been order'd to observe an exact Neutrality, there was no Confidence to be reposed in him upon that Account. It was looked upon as much more expedient, to accept the Elector of *Brandenburg's* Mediation, which had been neglected for several Weeks past. Each Party accordingly appointed their Deputies, and the Conferences begun.

Proposals  
of the  
*French*  
Party. The first Proposal, made by the *French* Party, was of the same Kind with those, that had

had occasioned the breaking up of the first Conference. Their second Proposal, tho' more moderate, was no better received; which reduced them to be contented, that the Elector should defer his Coronation, at least till *October*, that they might have Time for the Discussion of the three principal Points in Question; the dismissal of the *German* Troops; the Conversion of the Electress; and the Satisfaction to be made the Pimate, for the violent Attempts in prejudice of his Authority. The Elector seemed at first to relish this Expedient, To engage him to come entirely into it, the Chiefs of the *Rokozs* offered a Writing, by which they agreed to acknowledge that Prince as *King*, upon Condition he would not be crown'd till the 30th of *September*. On the other Hand the same Lords offered the Pimate, to oblige themselves by another Writing, never to abandon him, provided he would sign nothing in prejudice of the Prince of *Conti's* Interest.

The Elector's Council, having deliberated upon these Offers, did not give into the Snare. It was resolved as soon as possible to sound the Pimate, and to demand his Proposals in Writing. It was conceived, that if he refused, it would be a Proof, they were a Contrivance to gain Time, or if he complied, they might at a proper Time be made Use of against himself. The Proposal was made to him, but he excused him-

1697.  
Elector's  
artificial  
Demand.

1697.



His Coro-  
nation re-  
solved.

self from signing any Thing. He urged a great many Reasons for such Behaviour, and amongst others, that it was necessary to assemble the Nobility, in Order to represent to them the Disposition of the Elector to satisfy the Republick upon it's Grievances. This Refusal of the Primate's gave Reason to conclude, his Design was only to amuse the Council, and give Time to the Prince of *Conti* to arrive in *Poland*. They were highly pleased to see the *Poles*, contrary to their Custom, prefer the Method of Treaty to that of Arms, and did not fail to make the most of a Disposition so favourable to the Elector's Interest. It was resolved in that Prince's Council, that his Coronation should be on the 15th of *September*. They were the more inclined to such a Resolution, because many Lords, and Gentlemen, waited only that Ceremony, to declare in his Favour. Many of the *French* Party disgusted with bare Promises without any Effect, would have been glad of the Coronation's being over. Others wished it for the sake of Peace and Quiet, and to hear no more of an Affair, whose length had made it tedious to them.

Such was the Disposition of the greatest Part of the *French* Faction, when News came to *Warsaw*, that the Elector without Regard to the Conferences still on foot, far from deferring his Coronation, had been crowned *September* 15th, and to add to the

Magnificence of that Coronation, had order'd his Equipages, and Moveables of greatest Value, to be brought from *Dresden*. That Prince had indeed upon his Entry into *Cracow*, according to Custom, used Means to come at the Royal Ornaments. The Difficulty was not small. Those Ornaments were kept in the Treasury, of which eight Officers had the Keys, and six of the Number were in the Prince of *Conti's* Interest. The Council of *Saxony* resolved to force a Place that had been always sacred. However, that they might not seem to violate the Law against breaking open the Treasury, it was judged adviseable, to have a Part of the Wall thrown down. The Breach was entered, and the Ornaments taken away, without any Regard to the Remonstrances of the Guardian of the Crown, or the Burgraves of *Cracow*.

1697.

Makes his  
Entry into  
*Cracow*.Treasury  
broke  
open.

There were other Difficulties, but removed with the same Ease. For first the King, according to the Laws of the Kingdom, should have been crowned by the Archbishop of *Gnesna*, Primate of *Poland*. The Elector's Council of four or five Senators, thought fit to declare the Archbishoprick of *Gnesna* vacant. In the second Place, the Corps of the late King should have been interred before the Coronation, and they were not in Possession of *Warsaw*, where the Royal Body was deposited. They had however

Difficulties  
removed.

1697.



Corona-  
tion of the  
Elector.

a Salvo for that also, which was to perform his Obsequies in Effigy in the Cathedral Church, with the same Magnificence as if that Prince's Body had been actually there.

All these Difficulties being thus removed, the Elector went the 14th according to Custom, to the Church of St. *Stanislaus*, to do Honour to that Martyr's Memory. The 5th the Day appointed for the Coronation, that Prince, habited in a Cuirass, and the Electoral Robes, went about Noon, attended by the Senators, and preceded by *Lubomirski*, Grand-Marshal of the Crown, carrying his Staff of Office, from his Apartment to the Church, and mounted a Throne, prepared for him under a Canopy of State in the middle of the Choir. After the Litany the Bishop of *Cujavia*, assisted by two other Prelates, read the Confession of Faith before that Prince, who fainted away whilst it was reading. Some attributed this Indisposition to the Length of the Ceremony, others believed the Weight of the Armour and the Electoral Robe might be the Occasion of it. The Partisans of *France* imagined, that the News just arrived of the Prince of *Conti*'s being set out, might have some Share in that Disorder. But it would be perhaps as reasonable to think that Accident a natural Effect, as it happen'd at one in the Afternoon, a Time of Day, to which it was not that Prince's Custom to fast. However, there were People

ple who did not fail to make it a Subject of Raillery, asking, what was become of the *Hercules*, the *Germans* had sent into *Poland*.

1697.

The Elector being recovered from his Swoon, made his Profession of Faith, to which he swore and signed, he then received the Sacrament; after which the Bishop of *Cujavia* placed the Crown on his Head, omitting none of the Ceremonies usual upon the Occasion. The greatest Part of the Crown and *Lithuanian* Officers were absent, but were represented by Proxy, by the *Polish*, and even some of the *German* Lords. A select Body of the *German* Troops were posted round the Church during the Ceremony. The next Day the Magistrates did their Homage, and out of the twenty four Counsellors who attended upon that Occasion the Elector made six Knights.

The same Day the Diet of Coronation began to sit, in which there was no small Confusion and Disorder. Nothing was to be heard but Complaints and Disputes about different Formalities, omitted or neglected. The Invalidity of Deputations was another great Subject of Discontent. This Deficiency was however soon got over. The Deputies agreed to treat themselves as regular Nuncio's, tho' perhaps there was not one amongst them who could assume that Title with any Pretence of Right. Their Agree-

Holds the  
Diet of  
Corona-  
tion.

1697



Distur-  
bance in  
the Diet.

ment did not put an End to the Confusion ; the Choice of a Marshal was a new Subject of Contention, *Zwissa* carried it at last against young Prince *Wiesnowski*.

Their Tranquillity was further disturbed, when some of the Nuncio's desired, that the Original *Pacta Conventa* should be laid before them. They asserted, that it ought to include in Express Terms, that the Elector should renounce his Right, acquired by the Act of Election, if he caused himself to be crowned before the Electress his Consort embraced the *Catholick* Religion. The Elector's Answer confirmed them in the Truth of this Article, which was that the original Act was lost. The Nuncio's were not contented with this evasive Reply. Sixty Gentlemen of the Palatinate of *Sandomir* produced a Copy that had been taken of the *Pacta Conventa*, which the Elector's Council refused to admit; and the Castellan of *Culm* had the Address to embroil the Affair so successfully, that it was thought proper to refer the Decision to the Month of *February*. In vain did several Nuncio's protest against all that had been done before and after the Coronation. The Elector expressed an unconcern for those Protests, and the Diet it self, tho' called by the Bishop of *Cujavia*, He looked upon this Stir as a Storm that would blow over of it self: And others made it a Subject of Ridicule. A Pasqui-

nade

Pasqui-  
nade.



nade was handed about, containing the Arguments of five Acts of a Comedy acted at *Cracow*. 1. A King without *Diploma*. 2. An Interment without a dead Body. 3. A Coronation without a Primate. 4. A Diet without Nuncio's. 5. Protests of no Effect.

The News, which arrived during these Transactions, spoiled for some Time the Mirth of the Elector's Council. Its Substance was, that the Prince of *Conti* left *Paris* the 3d of *September* at Night, embarked the 7th at *Dunkirk* aboard a Squadron, commanded by the Chevalier *Bart*, had passed the Sound, and brought Troops and considerable Sums of Money along with him. But if the Elector's Party had Reason to be alarm'd at this Intelligence, it had a quite different Effect upon the Prince of *Conti*'s Friends. The Primate, the General and Council of the *Rokozs* immediately assembled, to consider suitable Measures. The Primate revoked his Proclamation of Summons for the 6th of *September*, upon the Hopes the Elector had given of referring entirely to the Sense of the Republick. Instead of a general Diet for the 26th of *September*, he issued new Proclamations, for three particular Assemblies to be held the 20th of *October*, one at *Lencicia* in great *Poland*, under the Command of Count *Uladislaus Prziemski*, Castellan of *Kalisch*;

1697.

A'arm up-  
on the  
News of  
the Prince  
of *Conti*'s  
Arrival.

Primate  
proclaims  
three As-  
semblies.

1697. the second at *Zawichot* in *Poland* the less, under the Direction of *Adam Sieniawski*, Palatine of *Beltz*, and the third at *Grodno*, under the Palatine of *Wilna*.

Motives  
for those  
Proclama-  
tions.

Elector  
publishes  
circular  
Letter.

These Proclamations run in the Nature of Manifesto's, wherein the Primate endeavoured to justify his Conduct, and to render odious that of the Elector of *Saxony*, and his Adherents. He took Pains to prove, he had only acted in Defence of the Liberty of the State and Nobility, and for the re-establishment of the violated Laws. The Elector, whose Maxim it had hitherto been to act, whilst his Adversaries wrote, thought fit at this Time to oppose in Writing, what was published against him. He caused a Sort of circular Letter to be dispersed, in which he asserted, that he did not come to the Crown by any illegal Proceedings; that he had been elected by the Majority of Voices; that he had done nothing since, without the Advice of the Senators and great Lords of the Kingdom, and neglected nothing to reconcile their Divisions, and incline them to Peace and Concord; but that all his Applications having proved ineffectual, he referred the Event to Providence. He concluded with exhorting those, who had elected and crowned him, to join with him in the Support of their Choice, and Defence at once of their Honour and their Liberty.

There

There was little Success to be expected on either Side, from the Publication of these Writings. In the present Posture of Affairs; Force or Money were the only Means to the Advantage of either Party; of which both the Elector and the Primate, were sufficiently apprized. The first endeavoured by perpetual Liberalities to soften Opposition, till he should find himself in sufficient Credit to attempt his Establishment by Force. The second, weary of seeing his Application have no other Consequence than his Enemy's gaining Ground, determined, but too late, to make Head against him. He flattered himself, that by the Triple Diets he had summoned, he should easily defeat the Elector's Enterprizes, prevent him from marching to *Warsaw*, and such Disorders as had happened at *Proszenie*. At the meeting of the petty Diet of *Cracow*, six Saxon Regiments were detached thither, who surrounded the Diet, and threatened to cut them to Pieces, if they did not receive the Decree of the Elector's Council, against the Primate and the *Rokos*s. It was expected that three Bodies of the Nobility, animated against that Prince, and ready to join each other, would make him apprehensive of being either enclosed or cut off, should he engage in the Centre of the Kingdom. The Primate, the Marshal, and the *Rokos*s, did not however reckon so much upon the Fidelity of those three Assemblies

1697.

Elector  
and Pri-  
mate's dif-  
ferent  
Measures.

1697. *Assemblies*, as to be without their Apprehensions, both for themselves and *Warsaw*, which was not difficult to penetrate from their Conduct. After the Publication of those Proclamations, they retired to *Lowitz*, taking with them the Palatine of *Wilna's* Regiment of Foot, which till then had guarded the Bridge of Boats upon the *Vistula*. They also carried thither six hundred Horse, with Artillery and Ammunition, after which they broke the Bridge, that it might not facilitate the Elector's March.

By this Time the Squadron, under the Command of the Chevalier *Bart*, of six Ships of War of forty Guns each, with double Stores, and some Troops aboard, came to an Anchor *Sept. 26th* in the Road of *Dantzick*. The Prince of *Conti*, who was aboard this Squadron, was saluted with a Triple Salvo, by the Cannon of the Castle of *Weysselmond*; but was not complimented by the Magistrates of *Dantzick*, whose Ships passed on all Sides of the *French* Squadron without saluting, and they forbid their Boats going on Board that Prince's Vessels. Those Gentlemen had come to a Resolution to declare in Favour of the Elector. They were almost all of them Protestants, and consequently more inclined to a *Roman Catholic* of a few Days standing, than to a Prince of the Blood of *Lewis the Fourteenth*, who

Prince of  
*Conti* ar-  
rives in the  
Road of  
*Dantzick*.

who had taken Pains to extirpate the Protestant Religion in his Dominions. 1697.

The 28th the *French* Squadron came to an Anchor before *Oliva*, (*an Abby upon the Vistula, below Dantzick*) where there is a good Port. The Prince of *Conti* received daily the Compliments of the *Polish* Nobility. All of them saluted him with the Title of King, and Protector of their Liberty; but he had the Moderation to refuse the first of those Appellations, and declared he would not assume it, 'till the free and unanimous Consent of the Republick confirmed it to him. Perhaps he already sufficiently distinguished, his Competitor would carry it against him. However it be, he did not land till the 7th of *October*. Three hundred Soldiers of the Troops he brought with him, went ashore at the same Time. The *Abbe Polignac* attended him to Count *Bielinski*, the great Chamberlain of the Crown's House, where he held a Council. After which he dined in the Country near *Oliva*, with the Bishop of *Plosko*, who entertained him magnificently. After Dinner the Prince rose and drank to the Preservation of the Liberty of *Poland*, and then returned to his Ship, not judging it proper to pass the Night on Shore.

Some Days after the Ambassador of *France* concluded a Treaty with the *Sapieha's*. Upon depositing 460000 Livres in the Presence of *Abbe Polignac* treats with the *Sapieha's*.

1697. of the Commissaries of *Lithuania*, the great Treasurer's Son was to come with ten or twelve Companies of Ordnance, to escort the Prince where he should think fit. The Treaty further expressed, that the great General. and all the Officers of the Army of *Lithuania* should take an Oath of Fidelity, and march with their Troops to such Places as should be assigned by the Prince, who would put himself at the Head of them, and before they advanced to the Enemy, pay them a like Sum of 460000 Livres. The same Minister treated also with the great Treasurer of the Crown, and with the Palatines of *Beltz* and *Kiow*, as to what regarded them.

First Proposal to the Prince of *Conti*.

The Prince of *Conti*'s keeping aboard his Ship was not at all approved. It was proposed to him to go to *Marienburg*, where *Dzialinski* was high Steward, and commanded for his Brother in Law *Bielinski*. In that Place was a Garrison of seven or eight hundred Men. The Works were at that Time repairing with the utmost Diligence, and the Commandant had engaged to provide all Sorts of Ammunition, for a certain Sum of Money, that had been paid him. The Prince did not think it adviseable to shut himself up in a Town, nor was it safe to rely too much upon *Dzialinski*, who was known to have a Facility in adhering to the Party that gave most.

Another

Another Proposal, that was made, did not appear more consistent. It was that the Prince should go to *Lowitz*. This was the more practicable, as all the Palatinates in the Way thither were in his Interest, and the Nobility upon the Coasts might be made Use of to escort him. But upon reflecting that they had no regular Troops, it was thought best to wait the Performance of *Sapieha's* Engagements. The Prince did not think it consistent with Prudence, or his Dignity to come on shore, and risque his Person in a Kingdom so divided, of which his Opponent was in a Manner Master.

The Situation of the Elector was in effect very different from that of the Prince of *Conti*. He did not wait the coming up of an Army; he had one under his Command, and had only to resolve upon its Motions. He had been advised to take three different Methods; the first was, to march directly to the Crown Army, to prevent by his Presence and Liberality, its joining the Prince of *Conti*; the second was to go to *Warsaw*, to hinder the three Assemblies of the Nobility summoned by the Primate's Proclamation from meeting, and to surprize the Primate himself at *Lowitz*; the third was to go at the Head of all his Troops into *Prussia*, to prevent the Prince of *Conti's* landing, and cut off the Aids he expected. The last Advice was follow'd, except that the Elector, instead of taking

1697.

Second  
Proposal.Councils  
given the  
Elector.

1697. taking the Field, contented himself with sending three thousand Horse into *Prussia*, under the Command of *Galecki*, Castellan of *Poznania*, to whom he had given the Palatinate of *Inowladislaw*. The Major Generals *Brandt* and *Flemming*, were joined in Commission with *Galecki*, and had Orders jointly with him to establish a Tribunal at *Pietrikow*, the Legality of which the Nobility would not admit, that they might not appear to approve the Elector's Coronation.

Succes of  
the three  
Assemblies  
summoned  
by the Pri-  
mate.

The three thousand Horse began their March Oct. 10. the Day the three Assemblies of the Nobility summoned by the Primate were to be held. The Assembly of *Grodno* was sufficiently numerous: But there might as well have been none. They were directed in their Conduct by the *Sapieha's*, who promised every Thing, but performed Nothing. There was scarce any Body at *Zawichot*, because the Palatine of *Beltz* was gone to the Crown-Army, where his Presence was necessary. The Palatine of *Kalisch* brought about two thousand Men to *Lencicia*, of which Use might have been made, if thro' an unseasonable Precaution, that Body of Nobility had not obliged the Primate, and Marshal of the *Rokozs*, to proclaim again the Prince of *Conti*; for which there was no Occasion.

The Prince  
of *Conti*  
proclaimed  
again.

After this Proclamation made in the Field of Election, the Assembly chose Embassadors



bassadors out of the Senate and Nobility, with Powers to draw up the *Pacta Conventa*. <sup>1697.</sup>  
*Bielinski*, Marshal of the Diet of Election, was appointed to present the *Diploma* to the Prince of *Conti*. To save Time, all this was done at *Lowitz*; *Warsaw* not being essential as to Place.

The Primate was not long without discovering his Fault. Upon his leaving *Lowitz*, with Intention to go to *Dantzick*, he received Intelligence, the *Saxons* were in full March to intercept him, and was under the necessity of shutting himself up in his Castle; from whence only the Bishop of *Kiow*, the Castellan of *Kalisch*, and some other Persons of the Embassy, with an Escort of three hundred *Polish*, and one hundred and sixty of the Palatine of *Wilna's* Horse, were suffered to depart. It was said that he also wrote to the Prince of *Conti*, to desire him to come to his Relief. But of what Use could that Prince's Compliance be, who instead of forty thousand Troops, that promised to join him, had hitherto seen only a few *Polish* Platoons, who came to offer him their Service?

The Prince is reported never to have had any great Opinion of this Affair. He undertook it rather in Deference to *Lewis XIV.* than from his own Ambition; and in the Train Things were at that Time, it was not difficult for him to foresee it would not succeed. However, that he might not be wanting

Primate  
 obliged to  
 shut him-  
 self up in  
 his Castle.

Prince of  
*Conti's* I-  
 dea of his  
 Election.

1697. ing to himself in any Thing, he dispatched circular Letters, to inform the Nation, in what he expected from them, and what Succours were necessary for his Service. In these Letters, his Stile was *Duke of Conti, and by the Grace of God, and the Affection of the Polish Nation, King of Poland, and grand Duke of Lithuania.* He told them, the Occasion of his not coming sooner to express his Gratitude, was the Apprehension of acting contrary to the Customs of the Realm; that for the same Reasons, he kept on Board his Ships, and had not brought Troops along with him; that he did not conceive the Elector of Saxony's Coronation could prejudice his Right in any Thing, as what was Null in the beginning could not be made valid in the Consequence; besides, not to mention the Irregularities of the Coronation, it was an indispensable Obligation in the *Pacta Conventa*, that her Highness, the Electress, should have embraced the *Roman Catholick* Religion before the Elector was crowned. To which he added, that for what remained, he reposed an entire Confidence in the *Polish* Nation, and it was his Intention to shun, as far as possible, the Effusion of Blood; that however, in Case of Necessity he would take Care to provide a sufficient Number of Troops; and that they should find him ready to employ his Fortunes,

His Circular Letters.

tunes, and expose his Life, in Defence of the Religion and Liberty of *Poland*. 1697.

This Letter had no greater Success than the Prince expected. It was without Effect. Most of the Generals of the Army, and the other Lords had taken different Measures, and after having drawn Money from both Parties, adhered to that, which had given them most, or from which they had Hopes of getting more. The Elector's Party grew stronger every Day, whilst the Prince's visibly declined. It was not known on what to depend. Some there were who made great Professions, but performed nothing, or acted secretly in direct Contradiction to their open Engagements. Others would have sold themselves at a Price, it was not possible to pay; and some, after having received their Contracts, betrayed the Purchaser.

The *Sapiehas*, and the great General of the Crown, were those, of whom the Prince of *Conti* had most Reason to complain. The one invented false Reports to prevent the sending of the Promised Troops. Others alarmed by these Reports, were afraid to march. All this gave the Prince of *Conti* no small Disgust. He thought it inconsistent with his Dignity to suffer himself to be amused any longer. In a Conference held at *Oliva* the 29th of *Oct.* at which several *Polish* Lords were present, he declared, that

L he

It's Success.

Prince of  
*Conti* dis-  
pleased.

1697.

ledge for its Sovereign, should pass the Winter on Board his Ships, when the Kingdom had no Fortrefs of any Strength, and neither Troops nor any other Relief to support him?

Receives  
other Em-  
bassadors.

Other Embassadors from the Republick arrived the 4th of *Nov.* at *Oliva*. The Bishop of *Kiow*, whom the Primate had appointed Chief of the Embassy, had with him the Commissions of several other Embassadors for *Lithuania*. The Castellans of *Kalisch* and *Siradia* were to act in the same Capacity for *Great Poland*, the former of whom brought with him three hundred Horse. If the other Lords had only brought as many, the Prince might have been in some Condition, to dispute his Ground with his Competitor. The Palatine of *Kiow*, and the Castellan of *Lublin*, represented *Little Poland*. *Bielinski* Marshal of the Diet, was joined in Commission with these Embassadors, and was much sonder of presenting the *Diploma* to the Prince than the Prince of receiving it. Prince *Lubomirski*, Starost of *Sondek*, arrived at the same Time, and brought Advice, that fifteen hundred Horse were upon their March to offer their Service. The Prince of *Conti* was pleased with the News, and declared he would take the Field at the Head of those Troops.

Receives  
disagree-  
able News.

This Dawn of Hope was of no long Duration. Accounts came, that the three thousand

land *Saxons* were divided into two Bodies, <sup>1697.</sup> one of which was marching for *Oliwa*, the other for *Marienburg*. The 5th of *November* this News was brought the Prince, who was then in Conference with the Embassadors; and changed all their Measures. The Troops expected were at too great a Distance to be much depended upon, besides which there were no certain Accounts of the Place where they then were.

An Express from the Primate brought other Accounts, which confirmed this News. That Prelate had given Notice in a Letter, that had been intercepted, that the *Saxons* had Orders to seize all the *Poles* in *Oliwa*. Every Body was in Apprehension for himself, and the Alarm was so great, they knew not what Course to resolve upon. *Grudzinski*, Castellan of *Brescia*, and *Lubomirski*, <sup>Rash</sup> Starost of *Sondek*, advised the Prince to enter *Great Poland* with all the Nobility then in his Company. This Advice was lofty and magnificent; but the worst of it was its being something too rash, and for that Reason rejected by every Body. Other Measures were proposed but subject to no less <sup>Other</sup> Inconveniences. <sup>Counsel</sup> It was necessary however to come to some Resolution in the present Exigency. The Troops were expected in three Days, and in that View it was proposed, that the Prince should retire to *Ste-*

1697: *tin*, instead of returning to *France*. That Place was the more commodious, as it was near the Frontier, and depended upon a Crown in Alliance with *France*. If these Succours, reply'd the Prince, are so near as they are believed, I shall expect them on Board my Ships; for I cannot resolve to abandon my faithful Friends. He was asked whether he would receive the Embassy with the Diploma, which he refused, as inconsistent to take Possession of a Kingdom, from whence he was advised to retire.

The same Day the fifth of *November*, the Chevalier *Bart*; by the Prince's Orders, seized five Merchant Ships of *Dantzick*, then in the Road, laden and ready to sail. There were two Reasons for carrying Things to this Extremity. One was, to make the City of *Dantzick* sensible of a Power to revenge their Precipitation in Favour of the Elector, and the other, to punish several Insults, offered by the Burghers to the *French* of the Squadron, who had gone into their Town.

Before this Rupture, the *Abbe Polignae* had signified to the Principal Burgomasters, that his most Christian Majesty had given Orders to seize all Vessels of *Dantzick*. The Burgomaster asked whether this Notification was a Declaration of War from the King of *France*. The Ambassador reply'd, It

Vessels of  
*Dantzick*  
seized by  
the Che-  
valier *Bart*.

Declara-  
tion to the  
Burgoma-  
ster of  
*Dantzick*  
and his  
Answer.

It was not: But that the King his Master was no less offended with that City, than he had been with *Genoa*, which was as much as to threaten a Bombardment. It was however much further from *Dunkirk* to *Dantzick*, than from *Marseilles* or *Toulon* to *Genoa*. Besides *Dantzick* is not upon the Coast as *Genoa* is, and the Powers interested in the Preservation of this City, could more easily prevent its Ruin, than those in the Interest of the other its Bombardment.

The Ambassador of *France's* Declaration, and the seizing of the five Vessels alarmed, the City of *Dantzick*. The ordinary Council immediately summoned the Counsel of an hundred, the Result of whose Deliberations was, that the Gates of the City should be shut by Way of Precaution, that all the Effects of the *French* should be seized, and that their Money and Bills of Exchange, should be brought into the Town-House. They wrote at the same Time to the King of *Denmark*, to desire him not to permit their Ships, taken in the Road by the *Chevalier Bart*, to pass the Sound. They also implored Aid of all the Powers, interested in the Preservation of their City, and informed them of the Steps that had been taken in so delicate a Conjunction.

The *Abbe Polignac* had given Orders to his People to remove the most valuable of

1697.

Imprison  
Abbe Po-  
lignac's  
Domest-  
icks.

his Moveables, which had been carried thither for the Accommodation of the Prince of *Contré*. Those Orders were given too late. At the same Time his Domesticks were preparing to put them in Execution, the Magistrates sent them to Prison, and with them the Merchants, who had been serviceable to the Prince. They seized the greatest Part of the Embassador's Effects, and after having sold his Horses by Auction, had the Insolence to send him a Trumpet, with a Letter to reclaim their Ships. The Embassador's Reply was, that as to their Ships, they were no Concern of his, and that to plunder his House was a bad Method of engaging him to sollicite in their Favour. Remember, added he, you have violated the Laws of Nations, and failed in Respect for a great King, whom no Body has hitherto offended with Impunity.

Alarm  
given by  
the Saxon  
Troops.

At the same Time that Minister received Advice, that the Saxons lay the Evening before at *Stum*, a Town of *Prussia*, that they had made the hundred and sixty of *Sapieba's* Horse, with their Commander Prisoners of War. On the sixth, nothing was talked of every where but the March of the Saxons, and the Violence committed by them. The Embassador thought it high Time to provide for the Safety of his Effects which he sent to the Abby of *Oliva*, the only Place of Refuge



Refuge, that remained on the Coast, and where most of the *Polish* Senators were retired. The 7th he waited on the Prince to desire Boats, but could not have them that Day, being sent out for Water; he was promised them the next, with sixty Men to guard them. 1697.

General *Brand* was near *Dantzick*, with a considerable Body of *Saxon* Troops, and finding the Prince of *Conti* in no Condition to oppose him, he thought it his Duty to make use of the Occasion, and the little Care his Party had taken to be upon their Guard. They advance to *Oliva*. With this view, *November* 8, at Day-break, he advanced towards *Oliva*.


The Boats of the *French* Squadron, were at that Time employed in carrying Soldiers to Shore, with whom went the *Abbe Chateauneuf* to bring off what was left in the Abby. Twenty of the Soldiers were scarce landed, when they perceived a great Body of Horse in the Plain. It was a Detachment of the *Saxons* with the rest close in their Rear. The Soldiers who guarded the out Parts of the Abby, were in as profound a Sleep, as if there was nothing to fear. The *Saxons* attacked them suddenly, and put most of them to the Sword, before they could take to their Arms for their Defence.

They broke also into the inside of the Abby, where the *Saxons* seized all that belong- And seize the Abby.  
ed

1697. ed to either the *French* or the *Poles*. The  
 ~~~~~ Embassadors Papers, and Plate were concealed in the Vestry, which *Peter Hubert*, his Secretary, found Means to get off. He shut himself up in the Abby, tho' admitted with great Difficulty, and by distributing three hundred Ducats amongst the Religious, he procured the Habit of their Order and found Means to take off the Seal, which the *Saxons* had affixed to the strong Box, in which the Papers were. He carried them off on the 9th at Midnight, and sent them to *Dantzick*, covered with Herbs and Roots, by a Peasant he could trust, who delivered them to the great Chamberlain's Lady, which Lady afterwards restored them to the Embassador.

Commit
 Violences.

The Castellan of *Kalisch*, whom they particularly wanted, was so fortunate to get off, and escape an Ambuscade laid for him. Thirty Horse were detached in Pursuit of him, who followed him in the Woods to no Purpose, for they could not come up with him. The Starost of *Sondek* cut his Way thro' the Enemy Sword in Hand, with only four in his Company, and received their whole Fire without a Wound. The Bishop of *Kiow*, and the Castellan of *Brzescia* took Sanctuary in the Abby Church. The Castellan they rifled, and abused. The Bishop, who was before the Altar, prostrate
 in

in Devotion, was no better treated, and had ^{1697.} his Cross of Diamonds torn from his Breast. 

The *Poles* at *Dantzick* were no better used than those at *Oliva*. The Palatine of *Kiow*, the Marshal of *Lithuania*, Prince *Czartorefski*, the Starost of *Pereflaw*, and the great Chamberlain had the Mortification to be put under Arrest in their Houses, by the Burgomasters of *Dantzick*, who placed Guards upon them; several Gentlemen the Mob dragged about the Streets by the Hair.

Andrew Zaowski, Bishop of *Plosko* had the Address to escape these Insults. He retired after the Counsel of the 29th of *October*, when the Prince of *Conti* declared his Resolution to return to *France*. That Prelate would have purchased at any Rate the Bishoprick of *Warmia*, a more considerable Benefice than his own. When he saw the Prince of *Conti*, to whom he adhered, no longer in a Condition to procure him that Advantage, he joined the *Saxon* Party, which, it is more than probable, he had before prepared for such an Event.

Among the Prisoners, who were taken and amounted to two hundred, were forty of the Prince of *Conti*'s Domesticks. The *Abbe Polignac* was very near being taken himself. He had scarce Time to get on Board the *French* Squadron. He there found the Prince of *Conti*, just getting into a Boat, to
go

Bishop of
Plosko goes
over to the
Elector.

Prisoners
taken by
the Saxons.

1697. go to *Oliwa*, so that the Prince would undoubtedly have been taken, if *Brand* had arrived two Hours later.

They be-
sieve and
take *Ma-
rienburgh*.

That General, to take Advantage of the Consternation, into which he had thrown his Master's Enemies, sat down without losing Time before the Castle of *Marienburgh*. *Dzialinski*, grand Carver of the Crown, had retired thither, as is before observed. His Design was not so much to preserve the Place, as to make an Advantagious Capitulation, in which he had Success. After the first Attack, he surrendered upon Conditions agreed on between him and *Brand*. The Palatine of *Siradia*, and the great Chamberlain *Bielinski*, went almost at the same Time to *Cracow*, to take their Oaths of Fidelity to the Elector.

Prince of
Conti sets
Sail to re-
turn.

As *Marienburgh* was the only City, the Prince of *Conti* could land at with Safety, the Loss of that Place, and the Desertion of so many Lords, determined him to retreat. The 9th about Noon he set Sail for *France*. He thought it proper, that the *Abbe Polignac* should land in the Isle of *Rugen*, and from thence repair to *Stetin*; that he might be in readiness to return to *Poland*, if the Conjunction made it necessary. The Prince carried away with him only four of the Ships, seized by his Order in the Road of *Dantzick*. A small Vessel, which was the fifth,

fifth, found Means to escape, and anchor'd ^{1697.} safely under the Cannon of the Castle of *Termand*. Before his Departure, he wrote two Letters, one to the Primate, and another to the Republick. In both of them he expressed his great Displeasure, in having seen *Poland* subjected by foreign Troops, and the Republick in Danger. In that to the Republick, he warmly reproached the Nobility, his Adherents, with breach of Promise, and abusing his Facility, in exposing him to come thither, and receive an Affront in the Face of all Europe ; an Affront, he said, of which he was the more sensible, as he had never entertained Thoughts of being their King.

Writes to
the Pri-
mate and
the Re-
publick.

The Prince put in the 15th at *Draco*, in the Isle of *Amag*. His Vessel, and another of the Squadron had touched upon the Bank of *Zandholm*, which obliged him to go ashore in the Boat. Monsieur *Bonrepais*, Embassador of *France*, at the Court of *Denmark*, went to wait on him at *Draco*, and conducted him the 16th to *Copenhagen*. The next Day he went to Court, where he appeared *incognito*, under the Name of the Count *D'Alets*, to avoid disputing Precedence with the Prince Royal. On the 19th he returned on Board, and set sail the same Day for the Coast of *France*. The King of *Denmark* would not suffer the four Vessels, taken in the

anchors
in *Den-
mark*.

K. of *Den-
mark* stops
the Ships
of *Dant-
zick*.

1697. the Road of *Dantzick*, to pass the Sound. He ordered the *French* Officer, who asked his Permission, to be told, that he could not suffer the least Ship to be taken in the *Baltick* Sea, and much less Vessels, laden with Merchandize, that it would be an Infringment of his Treaties with all Nations, by which he was obliged to preserve the Passage of the Sound free, and to maintain the Tranquillity of the *Baltick*. That Monarch laid those Vessels, however, under an Embargo, till the Difference between the Court of *France*, and the City of *Dantzick*, should be accommodated.


Electors
grows
strong.

The Elector of *Saxony's* Affairs, which, before the Prince of *Conti's* Departure, were not a little successful, took new Force after the Retreat of that Prince. Not only several Districts of the Republick acknowledged him, but took an Oath of Fidelity to him. A Number of Gentlemen, to whom that Prince opened his Arms, declared in his Favour. A Part of the Army sent their Deputies to swear entire Obedience to him in their Name; and the King of *Sweden*, and the Czar of *Muscovy* offered to assist him with their Troops. A considerable Party of the Nobility, however, altho' in great Distress by the Prince of *Conti's* Retreat, continued firm to his Interest, and did not lose their Courage. The Primate and some Lords supported it with

Declara-
tion of P.
of *Conti's*
Party.

with their whole Credit, and Authority. They neglected no Arguments to prove the Goodness of their Cause. They published Manifestos in Vindication of their Measures, in which they declared, that all the Resolutions they had hitherto taken, were not only just, but essential to the Defence of their Religion and Liberties; that this was the sole Reason of their Perseverance in the Protests, they had made against the irregular Proceedings of the contrary Faction; and that they did not only think it proper to confirm those Protests, but to add such others, as should be Necessary.

The Elector found no less Opposition to his Designs from the Lords, who had acknowledged him. That Prince had entered *Poland* at the Head of his Troops, and was obliged for the Safety of his Person, to continue a Body of them about him, and to quarter them in *Cracow*. The *Poles*, who cannot endure the least Appearance of an Attempt upon their Liberties, murmured highly at this Behaviour. They complained that the Privileges of the Nation were violated, in confiding the Guard of the Capital of *Poland*, to *German* Troops, which properly belonged to the Natives of the Country. Besides which the *Poles* and *Germans* had a natural Antipathy for each other. The Troops of the two Nations could not quarter together,

1697


Opposition to the Elector.

1697. together, without frequent Quarrels, which were often followed either by Duels or Combats between small Parties. This made it necessary to find an expedient to satisfy the *Poles*, without obliging the *Germans* to leave the Kingdom, and to reconcile the Primate and his Adherents; two Things extremely difficult, as many Interests not only different, but almost directly opposite, were to be managed.

Tries to
remove it.

Those Difficulties long employed the King and his Council in *Cracow*, who agreed, however, upon the most essential Points. They thought it best to use gentle Means, to induce the Primate to reconcile himself to the Elector; that the *Saxon* Troops should remove their Quarters to the Sea Coast, to be ready against any new Attempts of the *French*; and the *Polish* Soldiers should be posted upon the Frontiers as usual, to guard them against the *Turks* and *Tartars*. By quartering the Troops so remote from each other, the Consequences of their Jealousy were prevented. It was further agreed to declare the Prince of *Conti*, and all those, who had any Part in seizing the *Dantzick* Ships, Enemies of the Republick; and also to summons immediately a general Diet of Pacification.

Leaves
Cracow.

The Elector, no longer alarmed by the Presence of his Competitor in the Kingdom,
the

the Intrigues of the *French* Ministers; and the Divisions of the Army, thought only of going to *Warsaw*. He began his March Dec. 27th, leaving a Garrison of two thousand Men in the Citadel of *Cracow*, and one thousand in the Town; the first under the Command of *Szombeck*, Castellan of *Wolnetz*, and the others under *Witepski*, Castellan of *Cracow*. The Elector's Design was to assemble a Diet of Pacification, to conclude the Union of the different Parties, who were still turbulent in some Parts of *Poland*, and to reconcile the Lords who persisted in the Opposition.

1697.

Upon the first News of his March, the Grand Marshal of the Crown, the great Treasurer of *Lithuania*, and several other Persons of the first Quality, came from *Warsaw* upon the 2d of *January* to meet that Prince, who made his Entry, the 13th. The Magistrates presented him the Keys of the City, and the Clergy received him in their Formalities, at the Entrance of the Collegiate Church, where the *Te Deum* was sung to the Discharge of the Cannon, and the Acclamations of the People.

After the Ceremony, the Elector attended by the Senators, and preceded by the Marshals, carrying their Staffs of Office, went to the Castle, where the Keys were presented him by the Palatine of *Plosko*, as Governor

Enters
Warsaw.Goes to
the Castle.

1697. nor of *Warsaw*. In the Evening he made a Visit to the Queen *Dowager*, who returned the Compliment next Day. This second Interview passed in a long Conference, which ended in an entire Reconciliation between that Prince, and the late King's Family. It was observed, that the Princes *Alexander*, and *Constantine* went to *Villanova*, to receive the Elector the Day he made his Entry, and advanced to the Boot of his Coach. The House of *Sapieha* acknowledged him at the same Time, King of *Poland*, and made their Submission.

Summons
the Diet
of Pacifica-
tion.

Tho' this Progress was considerable, much was still wanting to confirm the Elector in the quiet Possession of the Kingdom. The *Rokozs* persisted in the Resolution of acknowledging no other King, but the Prince of *Conti*, and nothing could reconcile the Primate, or inspire him with pacifick Sentiments. The Elector's Council conceived a Diet of Pacification, the only Remedy, and flattered themselves, that the other Lords might be brought over by Promises, or, where Promises should fail, by real Services. In this Opinion, circular Letters were dispatched, for summoning that Diet to assemble on the 16th of *April*, and the petty Diets to precede the General Diet were appointed for the 5th of *March*.

In those Letters, the principal Points to be considered were stated, which were the Means

Means for re-establishing the Peace of the Nation, and for raising at least the Moyety of what was due to the Army. The Elector represented at the same Time, that after having embraced the *Roman Catholick* Religion, his only End, in setting up for the Crown of *Poland*, was to defend that Religion against the common Enemy of Christendom, and to support the Nation in their antient Liberties and Privileges; that to effect those Designs, he had brought his Troops into the Kingdom, and, if contrary to his Intention, they had done any Damage upon the Lands of the Nobility, he was ready to make entire Satisfaction; but that he thought it necessary to redress the Abuses certain Persons made of their Credit and Authority. He added, that his Forces should be only employed, to restore the Kingdom to its antient Lustre, and particularly to retake *Kaminieck*, and all *Podolia* from the *Turks*, provided he should be seconded by the Nation; and concluded with declaring, that, in the approaching Diet, all Parties should be at full Liberty to speak their Sentiments.

These circular Letters had not the Effect expected from them. The Divisions of *Poland* encreased, and rose much higher in *Lithuania*. *Oginski*, Great Standard-Bearer of that Duchy, offended at the House of

1697. *Sapieha's* having made their Accommodation, took Arms against the Great General, assembled a considerable Body of the Nobility, corrupted Part of the Army, committed Hostilities in the Country, and ravaged chiefly the Lands of the *Sapiehas*. On the other Hand, the General, with the remainder of the Troops who continued in Obedience, prepared to oppose the Violences of that Officer.

These Disorders did not suit the Electors Projects, who endeavoured to pacify Things, for the furtherance of his own Measures. He immediately dispatched two Expresses. The one with Orders to the great Standard-Bearer of *Lithuania*, to dismiss the Troops he had assembled, and afterwards to repair to *Warsaw*: The Contents of the other, were absolutely to forbid the Great General, *Sapieha's* opposing the Outrages of *Oginski* by Force, upon the Promise of suitable Satisfaction to be made him.

Electors endeavour to appease it.

The Elector's Council did not expect an entire Obedience from the different Parties, and thought they had no Reason to complain when the Deputies of each arrived at *Warsaw*. It was not possible, however, to reconcile them, as both declared, they were not furnished with sufficient Powers to conclude a Treaty. All that could be done, was to exhort them to terminate their Differences


ences amicably, and refer the rest to their respective Leaders who were to attend at *Warsaw*.

In *Poland* the Army, tho' the greatest Part of it had submitted to the Elector, continued to Mutiny from Time to Time. They framed many Pretensions, which they carried so far as to express, their Intention was to erect a fourth State in the Kingdom, and to have an equal Share in the publick Affairs; besides this, the Misunderstanding of the *Poles* and *Saxons* ran high, either because the *Saxons* did not observe so exact a Discipline with their Landlords in their Quarters, as the Conjunction made requisite, or that the *Poles* were too touchy, and delicate in what Regarded their Liberty, and Privileges.

What gave them further Trouble, was the Primate's persisting to refuse to come to any Accommodation. The Envoy of *Brandenburgh*, the Bishop of *Javarin*, and several of his Friends, went often to wait on him at *Lowitz*, where he continued to reside, but without any Success. He expressed himself more determinate than ever, in Consequence of the News he had received from *France*. However, as it was known, that the Court of *Rome* had resolved to acknowledge the Elector as King, it gave Reason to hope, the Prelate's Respect for the *Holy*

1697.
Division reigns in *Poland*.

Elector solicits the Primate in vain.

1697.  See would have more Influence upon him, than all the Solicitations that could be made.

Pope's Policy.

Altho' the Duke of *Saxony's* Election was properly the Work of the Pope, his Holiness out of Policy suffered himself to be very much solicited, before he would appear to acknowledge that Prince, as King of *Poland*. It was given out, that *France* intended to support the Prince of *Conti's* Election, and that the naval Armament, fitting out in the Ports of *France*, was designed in Favour of that Prince's Return into *Poland*. Such Rumours, tho' they had little Foundation, prevented for some Time the *Pope's* good Intentions from taking Place. He thought it proper to take Advantage from the Occasion, and to make his Appearance of Neutrality a Merit with the Court of *France*. But on the thirteenth of *Jan.* he declared himself openly. In a Congregation held that Day, it was resolved, that as the Elector of *Saxony* was in full Possession, and it appeared from the Prince of *Conti's* Return into *France*, that Court had no further Design to support his Pretensions, the Court of *Rome* could no longer defer the Acknowledgment of *Augustus's* Election. The Holy Father approved this Resolution, and received the *Sieur Giedokinski*, and the Baron *De Ge* in Quality of Ministers from the new King of *Poland* to the *Holy See*,

People

People were not mistaken in the Hopes they had conceived of the Primate. Soon after the Court of *Rome* declared itself, the Primate's Obstinacy seemed to relax. He expressed his Inclination to come to an Agreement. The Conditions he offered were indeed a little of the roughest: But that did not prevent the Satisfaction of having brought him to Terms. It gave Reason to believe he contended for no other Reason, but the Point of Honour; as he knew that, let him make his Bargain 'as late as he would, it could not but be much to his own Advantage. He demanded amongst other Things, that the Republick should make a general and open Satisfaction for the Injuries that had been done, as well to his Person as Dignity; that it should acknowledge by an authentick Act, the Violation of the Laws in Respect to him; that it should engage, never to proceed to the Coronation of any future King without his Consent, or that of the Primates his Successors; and that the Bishop of *Cujavia* in particular, should make a personal Satisfaction.

When the Elector was informed of this Disposition of the Primate, he wrote him a Letter full of Expressions of Affection, and professing a particular Esteem for his Person and Dignity; which the Primate answered with another, in which he gave that Prince

1697.
Primate
grows
calm.

Elector
writes to
him.

1697.

the Title of Majesty, he declared in it his ardent Desire of Peace, and great Passion for the Power of assuring him of his Obedience and Respect; but added, that having the Honour of being Primate of a Nation, not accustomed to admit any Sovereign, but such as should be elected by their free and unanimous Consent, he should apply his whole Power and Endeavours in such a Manner, that the present Occasions of Strife might be removed with Honour in the *Rokozs*.

Assembly
of the
Rokozs.

The Assembly of Confederacy, or *Rokozs*, to which the Primate referred, had been summoned by that Prelate with the Electors Consent, who sent thither for his Deputies, the Grand Marshal of the Crown, and the great Treasurer of *Lituania*. That Assembly was held at *Lowitz*, the 18th of *Feb.* at which the Envoy of *Brandenburgh* was present. It was expected, that the Primate's sole Application would have been to have induced the Assembly to Submission, as he had promised in some Measure, but he went no further than proposing in general, that proper Methods should be found, for the Re-establishment of the Laws, and the publick Safety and Tranquillity. The Elector's Deputies were then called in, who presented their Powers, and at the same Time a Letter from their Master. But the Quality of Commissioners given them, and some Expressions

pressions, that did not seem consistent, enraged the Members of the Assembly to such a Degree, that the Deputies were obliged to retire as fast as possible, to prevent their being insulted. Nor were a new Letter and other Powers, which they sent for, much more successful. Several Members of the *Rokozs* exclaimed against the Title of King, which the Elector assumed. The Letter was however received; but with much Difficulty. Twenty one Articles were prepared in Consequence, without which, the Assembly declared themselves incapable of receiving the Elector for rightful King. The Articles were :

Art. I. That the Elector shall give positive Assurances from the Court of *Rome*, of his having embraced the *Roman Catholick* Religion. Articles
proposed
to the E-
lector.

Art. II. That the Electress shall embrace the same Religion.


Art. III. That the *Roman Catholick* Religion shall be established in *Saxony*.

Art. IV. That the four Provinces, dismembered from the Crown, shall be re-united to it.

Art. V. That Accounts shall be given of the Application of the Publick Money.

Art. VI. That the *Pacta Conventa* shall be prepared by the *Rokozs*, and presented by the Marshal of that Assembly.

Art. VII.

1697.  Art. VII. That the vacant Offices which had been filled up, shall be confirmed with new Provisions.

Art. VIII. That all foreign Troops shall be dismissed.

Art. IX. That in Consideration of the Damages done by the Emperor's Troops, his Imperial Majesty shall grant Winter Quarters to *Polish* Troops upon his Domains.

Art. X. That publick Employments shall not be given to Strangers.

Art. XI. That the Act of Naturalization, accorded to the House of *Saxony*, shall not extend beyond the Electoral Branch of that Family.

Art. XII. That the King shall not use the Title of Elector.

Art. XIII. That the Damages done by the Army, shall be made good at the Expence of the grand General.

Art. XIV. That all Officers of the Army, and Guards, shall be *Roman Catholics*.

Art. XV. That all the Strangers in no Service shall be dismissed.

Art. XVI. That the City of *Dantzick* shall be made amends for the Losses, it sustained by the War, declared against it.

Art. XVII. That publick Sentence shall pass on the Bishop of *Cujavia*, to disqualify him from crowning any King.

Art. XVIII.


Art. XVIII. That Enquiry shall be made ^{1697.} into the Cause of the Treasury's being broken open.

Art. XIX. That Ecclesiasticks shall not be disturbed in the Possession of their Estates.

Art. XX. That General *Brand* shall answer at Law for the Damages done by his Troops, and due Reparation be had.

Art. XXI. That all Decrees passed during the Division of the Republick, shall be cancelled and annulled.

They might in Reality as well have told the Elector plainly, they would not receive him as King. It was not in his Power to grant several of these Articles, and for others of them, they so sensibly wounded his Honour and Authority, that to have granted them, he must not only have renounced the Dignity of King, but also that of Elector and Prince. However as this Assembly, should its Event prove fortunate, might confirm the Elector upon the Throne, the Deputies of that Prince, and the Envoy of *Brandenburgh*, did not despond. They omitted Nothing to moderate the Severity of the Articles. All they could obtain, was to reduce their Number; but as the most difficult of the Conditions were still included, the Deputies did not think fit to receive them. Their Refusal put an End to the
Patience

1697.  **Patience of the most Zealous in the Opposition.** Their Rage grew furious, and some of them fired Musquet Shot into the Envoy of *Brandenburgh's* Windows. The Primate endeavoured in vain to put a Stop to these Violences. His Moderation had little or no Effect upon People so passionate against the Elector, and who agreed but indifferently amongst themselves.

The more reasonable acknowledge the Elector. The Tumult continued till the 26th, when the Assembly dissolved. The more reasonable were ashamed to see Things carried to such Excess. The greatest Part of the Deputies of *Little Poland*, those of *Siradia*, *Lencicia* and *Rava*, three Palatinates of *Great Poland*, the Bishop of *Kiow* and three other Lords retired to *Boni*, with Resolution to acknowledge the Elector. That Prince's Commissaries immediately repaired thither. The Agreement was concluded, and *Te Deum* sung with the Service of Thanksgiving.

The Rokozs repair that Loss. The Primate, the Marshal of the *Rokozs*, and the rest of the Assembly continued at *Lowitz*, determined to abate Nothing of the Conditions they had proposed. On the contrary, they added two Clauses to the Article concerning the Bishop of *Cujavia*. They insisted upon his being deposed, and disqualified for ever, from holding any Employment, or having any Concern in the Affairs of

of the State. As to the Loss the *Rokozs* sustained of the Deputies of *Little Poland*, and the three Palatinates of the Great, the Bishop of *Kiow*, &c. that was in some Measure repaired by six Standards of the Crown Army, who declared for them, as did several Lords, who abandoned the Elector and joined the Confederacy.

Such was the Consequence of the Assembly of *Rokozs*, from which the Elector promised himself the Confirmation of his Authority. Many People had not been mistaken in their Conjectures. They could not comprehend the Elector's Reasons for permitting that Assembly, and thought it more adviseable for him to have forced the Primate and his Adherents to submit. But when it is considered, that Prelate had in his Party many of the Senators, and Chiefs of the Republick, and was supported by a great Number of Gentlemen, who if the *Rokozs* had not been suffered to assemble, could have taken Permission from their own Strength, it will be readily granted, that the Elector did not make an ill Choice. Besides that Prince was not ignorant, that gentle Methods were the most effectual to secure a Throne hitherto, but ill established.

The same Reason prevented his giving the Envoy of *Brandenburg* Satisfaction. That Minister made great Complaints of the Violences

Envoy of
Brandenburg
demands Sa-
tisfaction
in vain.

1697.

1697. lences committed in his House, and the Insults done to his Person and Character. From which the Primate excused himself, by throwing the Fault upon the Number of the *Rokozs*. The Elector promised for Form's Sake to take Care, that the Authors of the Insult should be severely punished. The Envoy was under the Necessity of contenting himself with so slight a Satisfaction, which was all he could expect in a Time of Confusion, when neither of the Parties scarce paid any Regard to the Rights of Nations, to Law, or Religion.

Troubles
in *Lithuania*.

The Troubles were to the full as great in *Lithuania*. The Army had almost intirely revolted from the great General, and submitted to the Orders of *Ogin/ski*, great Standard-bearer; and all the Nobility, who had taken Party with that Officer, demanded a *Coequation* with the same Order in *Poland*, and that the ensuing Diet should be held under Arms, and on Horseback. They insisted further upon four hundred thousand Crowns, which, as they said, had been promised to General *Sapieha*, for the payment of the Army. This last Article was not the most difficult to regulate. The Elector's Design was to purchase Peace at any Price. The Demand of a Diet to assemble in Arms and on Horseback, gave much more Trouble. On the one Hand he foresaw such a Diet could

could not be held without great Effusion of Blood; on the other, he apprehended an Assembly of the Nobility, armed and in open Field, might propose a new Election. He therefore absolutely refused to comply with such a Demand; tho' at the Hazard of seeing the *Coequation* of the Nobility of *Lithuania* with those of *Poland* take Effect.

This *Coequation* was as much desired by the Nobility of the Kingdom, as by those of *Lithuania*. Happily for the Elector, it was contrary to the Rights of Prince *Sapieha* and his Family, who were in Possession of most of the great Offices of the Duchy, and they all joined in opposing the *Coequation*. The great General published a Manifesto, wherein he made appear, that *Oginiski's* Conduct was not only irregular, but contrary as well to Equity as Humanity; and exposed the Violences and Cruelties, committed by that Officer. This Manifesto was more successful than was expected. It made a strong Impression upon a great Number of the Malecontents. Part of the Army and Numbers of Gentlemen abandoned *Oginiski*, and went over to the General, with a Resolution to oppose all those who should undertake any Thing against the publick Tranquillity. With this Reinforcement *Sapieha* advanced to his Enemy, who did not

1697. not avoid him. They came to an Engagement, in which the great General had the Advantage. *Oginski* losing five or six hundred Men, killed and wounded.

Seditious
Writing.

At *Warsaw* they carried it so far, as to affix upon the Church Door, an impious and seditious Writing, in the *Latin*, *Polish*, and *French* Languages. It was an Invitation of all true Christians to assemble on the third of *March*, to put all the *Germans* to the Sword, with the Promise of Pardon for the Sins of those, who should join in so good a Work. The Elector was not much alarmed at a Menace published in that Manner; but however did not omit to take his Precautions. He published a considerable Reward to those, who would discover the Author of that Writing, and gave Orders, that a good Guard should be kept the Day assigned for the Execution. But no Body appeared. Thus the Hopes that had been conceived, that the Divisions of *Poland* would soon be made easy, came to Nothing. The Troubles of that great Kingdom on the contrary, were seen to improve more and more, without the Appearance of their being soon at an End. The Queen of *Poland*, besides, who had hitherto seemed to act in Concert with the King of *France*, treated secretly with the Principals of the *Rokozs*, in
behalf

behalf of her Son *Alexander*; and the General of *Great Poland*, who was withdrawn to his Lands, under Pretence of preventing the bad Designs of some ill disposed People to commit Disorders upon them, gave room to suspect his real Intention was, to join the Confederates.

All these Difficulties, from which it was not possible to extricate himself by gentle Means, seemed to reduce the Elector to have recourse to Arms, the only Remedy for the Recovery of the publick Tranquillity. That Prince was still inclined to see, whether Time would not produce some Advantage, and turned his whole Attention upon his Journey into *Prussia*, projected a Month before. He thought it necessary to endeavour the Establishment of his Authority in that Province, the most considerable of the Kingdom. With this View he left *Warsaw* the 8th of *March*, attended with a numerous Train of the Nobility; and an Escort of nine hundred Horse. The 12th he visited the Fortifications of *Marienburgh*, and next Day received the Compliments of Congratulation, from the Deputies of the City of *Elbing*, and the 15th from those of the Magistracy of *Dantzick*.

The 17th the Elector went from *Marienburgh*, to a Country House, a quarter of a League from *Dantzick*, where he was complimented

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Elector
goes to
Prussia.His Entry
into
Dantzick

1697. plimented by the Burgomasters, *Ferber* and *Snieden*, and by the Counsellor *Nimsgarden*, who came to meet him with a Detachment of the Horse Militia. The next Day that Prince made his publick Entry, received the Keys of that City from the Burgomaster *Ferber*, and was conducted to an House prepared for his Reception, where the City regaled him magnificently for three Days. Having a Curiosity to see the Abby of *Oliwa*, he went thither the 21st, and could not deny himself the Satisfaction of visiting that Part of the Coast, where the *French* had lain at Anchor, and where the Prince of *Conti* landed. The 25th he received the City of *Dantzick's* Oaths of Fidelity and Homage, after having confirmed the Privileges of its Inhabitants, and sworn to maintain them entirely.

The *Rokosz* ask
Aid of
France in
vain.

During this Time the *Rokozs*, more averse than ever to Accommodation, took Measures to encrease their Strength. They sent a Deputation into *France*, to desire Aid, and sollicite the Prince of *Conti's* return into *Poland*. But those Deputies were given to understand, the ill Use, that had been made of that Prince's Presence when amongst them, was a sufficient Reason for thinking it improper to interfere further in their Affairs. They were likewise informed, that a People, who had failed so much in their Professions, did not deserve

deserve any Measures should be taken in their Favour. The Court of *France* was offend-
ed at the little Warmth the *Poles* expressed, when the Prince of *Conti* appeared on their Coasts: But their Coldness proceeded from far different Causes: On one Side they apprehended, that the *Poles*, who shewed so much Zeal in negotiating, might fail a second Time of Resolution, when it should come to Action; on the other it was to be feared, that the northern Princes might oppose the Enterprize, and the King of *Denmark* refuse to let a *French* Squadron pass the *Sound*. Nor indeed, considering the posture of Affairs, was it consistent with Policy, to support the Prince of *Conti*'s Pretensions. A far more important View employ'd at that Time: the Court of *France*'s Attention. The King of *Spain* was dangerously ill; in Case of whose Death, *France* would have Occasion for all its Forces to secure a Succession, which it was expected would be disputed to the utmost.

It was no small Advantage to the Elector, to be no longer under Apprehensions from the *French*, and the Arrival of *Paulucci*, the Pope's Nuncio, was as much in his Favour. But *Poland* and *Lithuania* were so divided, and their Heats ran so high, that there was little Reason to expect Tranquillity would soon be re-established. The Nun-

1697.



Primate's
Answer to
the Pope's
Nuncio.

cio's informing the Primate, and the Members of the *Rokozs* of his Arrival, had no Effect upon them; nor was his proposing Conditions of Accommodation more successful. The Primate answered, that he was ready to receive with Submission the Orders of the *Pope*, in what related to spiritual Affairs, and that if his Holiness believed the Measures taken were sufficient to remove the Prejudice against a Conversion, which seemed to be made from the Views of a Crown, he was as ready to acquiesce with his Holiness in an Article of that Nature; but, continued he, as to what relates to the temporal Interests of the Republick, which a thousand Reasons oblige me to maintain, I cannot abandon them, without injuring my Character, without drawing upon me the Reproach of the whole Nation, and exposing my self to the Danger of answering personally for such Conduct.

The Nuncio had imparted his Arrival to the Primate, before he had informed the Elector of it. From whence many People concluded, that Minister less in the Interest of that Prince, than the Nuncio *Davia* had been. But there was no great Mystery in his Behaviour. The Primate was only first apprized of the Nuncio's Arrival, as he was nearest to *Warsaw*. He was then at *Lowitz*, whereas the Elector was at
Dantzick

Dantzick, and of Consequence much more remote. 1697.

The 10th of *April*, that Prince set out from *Dantzick*, in Company with the *Margrave* of *Brandenburgh Bareith*, his Father in Law, and the Prince his Son, who came to join him. On the 14th he returned to *Warsaw*, to be present at the Diet of Pacification, which was summoned for the 16th. Tho' he knew, the petty Diets were most of them entirely broke up, or adjourned without coming to any Resolution, he did not omit giving the necessary Orders for the General Assembly; and when the Day appointed arrived was determined the Diet should open, tho' of two hundred Nuncio's, which were essential to forming the Diet, only thirty appeared, besides a small Number of the Senators, who were suspected to come thither, more with Intention to break up the Assembly, than to take any salutary Resolutions.

This Opinion was not a Mistake. As soon as the Nuncio's were assembled, all of them in Conformity to their Instructions, rose up and protested against the Assembly. The *Lithuanians* said, amongst other Things, they had Orders to retire, unless it was agreed to summon a Diet to be held in open Field. Others demanded, that the Elector should nominate such Persons, as in Abuse of his Liberality had sold their Suffrages,

1697. and set a Price upon the publick Liberty, and the Crown; that they might be obliged to restore the Sums so taken, to be applied in the Payment of the Troops; that those Infringers of the national Liberty should receive condign Punishment; and that the Cities, Towns, and Villages, should be made amends for the Damages sustained from the *Saxon* Troops.

Difficulties the Elector meets with.

The further they went, the more difficult it was for the Elector to bring them to reasonable Terms. If that Prince had distributed Money amongst Persons, who had given him their Suffrages in return, which the Custom of *Poland* had made almost indispensable, was it reasonable he should be obliged to declare those Persons, and expose them to open Shame? On the other Side, in the present Situation of Affairs, a Diet in open Field was hardly more practicable. It had been the same Thing, as appointing a Rendezvous for a general Battle. The Elector's Partisans did their utmost to engage the Deputies to reassemble, but in vain. His Council were at a Loss what to resolve upon: Some proposed letting the six Weeks elapse, the Time established for the Duration of Diets: Others were of Opinion, it was better to refer it to another Time; which Advice was followed. It was not thought proper, however, to fix the Time for its being held

held, and conceived more convenient, to expect the Event of the Diet of Confederacy, which would determine the Continuance, or Conclusion of all Troubles. 1697.

On the 9th of *April* the Primate, and *Humieniski*, Marshal of the *Rokozs*, had published their Proclamations, for assembling a new Diet of the Confederates at *Lowitz*. Those Proclamations imported, that tho' the last Assembly of the *Rokozs* had not the desired Success, the *Pope* nevertheless, sensible of the Evils with which *Poland* was afflicted, had sent his Nuncio extraordinary, to endeavour the Re-establishment of their Tranquillity; and that in deference to his Holiness's good Intentions, they had come to the Resolution of assembling another Diet for the 5th of *May* at *Lowitz*; at which they desired the Presence of all those who had any Love for their Country, or Zeal for the *Catholic* Religion. Primate's
Proclamations.

The Time appointed for this Diet being arrived, whilst that summoned by the King dispersed insensibly, the Marshal of the *Rokozs* opened it with a Speech, wherein he expressed his Concern to see the Diet less numerous than he could have wished, and complained of the Want of Zeal for the publick Safety. Part of those, continued he, who have signed the Confederacy, keep quietly at Home, without giving any Reason Assembly
of the *Rokozs*.


1697.

son for their Conduct, and others have no Thoughts but for their private Interests, and to make the best Conditions they can for themselves. For my Part, added he, having no Motives but the discharge of my Duty, and the Repose of my Country, I have rejected all Offers, that have been made me, and exhort all People to behave in the same Manner.

Omen taken from it.

At this first sitting scarce forty Deputies appeared, which was a good Omen of the Issue of the Diet, and the Tranquillity, which seemed to take Place, gave Reason to hope the most favourable Consequences. Before any Affair was laid upon the Carpet, it was resolved to send two Deputies to the *Pope's* Nuncio, to make him their Compliments, and desire to know what he had to propose to the Assembly. Upon which the Diet adjourned to next Day. It was the Nuncio *Paulucci*, whom the Diet sent to compliment, and who came to *Lowitz* the Day before the opening of the Assembly. On the 6th the Diet was hardly more numerous than the Day before. The Deputies reported the Success of their Commission. They said, they could not sufficiently acknowledge their Reception from the *Pope's* Nuncio, who had declared his Holiness's Instructions were, to use all possible Endeavours for re-establishing the Peace of the Kingdom. Upon

on which the Primate represented the distressed Condition, and Miseries of the Republick, the Attempts upon the Liberty of the Nation, the Infraction of their Laws and Privileges, and the Disorders committed by the foreign Troops. Let us not delay, added he, let us find out the most effectual Methods to deliver our Country from these Calamities, and to re-establish the publick Peace and Tranquillity.

1697.

 Primate's
 Discourse
 to the Diet.

He had only one Voice in the Assembly, of which all the Members were of Opinion, that Articles should be prepared for their treating with the Commissioners, expected from the Elector. The Pope's Nuncio informed that Prince of the Diet's good Disposition, desiring him to nominate immediately his Commissioners to treat with the Assembly, and advising him to lose no Time, as the least Delay might be prejudicial to his Affairs. Accordingly the next Day, the Elector dispatched the Bishop of *Kioiv*, and the Prince of *Radziwil*, Vice Chancellor of *Lithuania*. Upon examining their Powers, they were found in good Form and sufficiently ample; the Elector having authorized them to treat upon all Conditions, that should be proposed, provided they were neither contrary to his Dignity, the Rights of the Republick, nor the Customs of the Kingdom. The Treaty

Rokozs
 consent to
 treat with
 the Elector.

1697.

Treaty immediately began. The Nuncio took upon him the Office of Mediator for the Elector on one Side, and the Primate and the *Rokozs* on the other. He assisted at all the Conferences and found the Primate more tractable than he expected.

Reasons
for the
Primate
changing
his Con-
duct.

This Alteration proceeded from two different Causes. The small Number of Gentlemen, who came to this Assembly, gave the Primate Reason to fear, he should be abandoned by the Confederates, and made him conceive it Time to conclude his Accommodation. Besides which it was known, the Elector had taken Measures for the March of Troops into the Kingdom, to support himself upon the Throne by Force. Such a Project made it essential to reflect upon the new Misfortunes, which threatened the Republick, if they persisted in the Resolution of not acknowledging that Prince. And on the other Hand they considered, how advantageous it would be to the Nation, not to provoke that Prince, to employ those Troops in the Heart of the Kingdom, and to the loss of his Subjects, which might be so much better apply'd in recovering the Lands, which the Infidels had usurped upon *Poland*.

Dispositions so favourable could not fail opening the Way to an Accommodation.

After

After several Debates, which more than ^{1697.} once required the Nuncio's Interposition, that Mediator had the Satisfaction the 16th of May, to see all Difficulties removed, and the Members of the *Rokozs* disposed to sign the Agreement. At the Conclusion of the Conferences of that Day, the Primate made a Speech to the Assembly, in which he enlarged principally in Praise of the Elector. After which, the Agreement concluded in the particular Conferences, was read. And then it was demanded, whether they were not agreed, that the only Means to restore the publick Tranquillity, was to acknowledge the Elector of *Saxony* for the lawful Sovereign of *Poland*. To which the whole Assembly unanimously answered, that they were ready to acknowledge that Prince for King, upon the Conditions stipulated with the Plenipotentiaries.

These Conditions were in Substance, that the Elector should give new Proofs of his having embraced the *Roman Catholick* Religion; that he should use his utmost Endeavours to induce the Electress to do the same; that he should dismiss the *Lutheran* Ministers, who were amongst his Troops; that he should pass an authentick Act for the Re-establishment of the Freedom of Elections; that he should not draw back the Sums, he had distributed in *Poland*;
that

1697. that he should pay the Arrears due to the Army; and employ his Troops to retake *Kaminieck* to reunite it and *Podolia* to the Crown; that he should afterwards dismiss the *Saxon* Troops; that he should revoke his Grants of certain Demesns, which should be applyed for the future to the Uses of his Household, that he should give the Preference to the Confederates, in the Distribution of Affairs and Employments, and in all Occasions affecting the Republick. The Treaty further expressed, that the Primate should confirm that Prince's Election, by giving him the Benediction in the great Church of *Warsaw*, the Courts of Justice to continue suspended till that Ceremonial, which should confirm him in the Possession of the Crown.

Protest a-
gainst the
Accom-
modation.

Of all the Members of the Assembly, only *Kochanowski*, Deputy of the Palatinate of *Sandomir*, opposed the Agreement, who withdrew with a Protest of Nullity against the Resolutions they had taken. An Incident so little expected, surprized the Assembly, and occasioned at first some Disturbance. But the Primate having represented, that such an opposition was only of Effect in a Diet, and not in Conferences and particular Assemblies, (of which Kind the *Rokozs* was,) into which every Body had a Right to enter, or to retire from it as they thought fit, his Reasons

Reasons were approved. It was their unanimous Resolution to proceed, and the Treaty was accordingly signed by the Commissioners of the Elector, as his Plenipotentiaries, by the Nuncio, as Mediator, and Guarantee in the Name of the *Pope*, and by the Primate, the Marshal of the *Rokozs*, and the Deputies of the Palatinates.

After the signing of this Treaty, the Marshal of the *Rokozs* as well in his own, as in the Names of all the Nuncio's complimented the Primate, and returned him Thanks for the Zeal he had expressed, in Defence of the Nation, and Support of the Laws of the Republick. He then broke his Staff of Office; to signify the entire Dissolution of the *Rokozs*. After which they went in a Body to the great Church, where the *Te Deum* was sung to the ringing of Bells, and the triple Discharge of all the Artillery. The Nuncio, with the King's two Commissioners, took their Places upon a Seat in Front of the archiepiscopal Throne. The *Te Deum* being over, the Primate gave a magnificent Entertainment in the Castle, to which the Nuncio, the King's Commissioners, and all Persons of Distinction were invited. The Healths of the *Pope*, and King, and the Preservation of the publick Liberty were drank to the Discharge of twelve Pieces of Cannon.

1697.

Dissolution
of the
Rokozs.

1697. Cannon. Thus ended this great Affair, of which the Success had been different, if the Prince of *Conti* had been as near a Neighbour to *Poland*, as the Elector, or had been as powerfully supported.





THE
HISTORY
OF
POLAND
UNDER
AUGUSTUS II.



BOOK III.



UGUSTUS began now to take breath. Free from the Inquietudes which a powerful Competitor had given him, he saw the Primate, and the Chiefs of the Confederacy reduced at last to unite the remainder
P of 1698.

1698.

The Pri-
mate or
principal
Confede-
rates have
Audience
of the
King.

of their Party, which decreased daily, to the body of the Nation in his Interest. Nothing was now wanting, but the Ceremony of Homage they were to pay him, which was fixed for the 22d of May. On that day they came to *Warsaw* with a Train of more than thirty Coaches, which the Senators had sent to meet them. The Primate was received at the Castle by the Grand Marshal, who conducted him to the Hall where *Augustus* expected him. The haughty Prelate did not renounce his Authority and the Regency without extreme reluctance. Incapable of perpetuating the *Interregnum*, he employed his whole Address in protracting it to the utmost. The King would have had the Interview in a Chamber, where a Throne and Canopy of State were prepared for him: But the Primate insisted he could have no Right to them, till after the Election had been solemnly confirmed. *Augustus* judg'd it improper to hazard by an unseasonable Delicacy, the Advantages of a Treaty so happily concluded. He comply'd, and advanc'd some Steps to receive the Primate, who made him a short Compliment in the *French* Language. He said, That if it was his ill Fortune to be the last in paying his most humble Respects, he had at least the Satisfaction of bringing with him the Effects so long desired, the Hearts of the People and the publick Tranquility, which he laid at his

his Majesty's Feet; to whom he vowed a constant and inviolable Adherence. The King's Answer was also in *French*, in the most gracious Terms. *Humienski*, Marshal of the *Rokosz*, carrying the Marks of that Dignity during the whole Ceremony, spoke in his turn, and was answer'd, in the most obliging manner, by the Great Chamberlain in the King's Name.

1698.

Compliments on both Sides.

The Audience being over, the Primate went with the King into his Cabinet, where they had a Conference of two Hours. The Prelate had occasion for all his Address, to evade the Instances which were made to engage him to set the Example of taking the Oaths of Fidelity to the King. The Advantages he had made, seemed to make it inconsistent to recede: He found Excuses however to evade his Compliance, and insisted that the Election should be confirm'd by a Diet, which was the Subject of a new Conference the next Day.

Primate raises Difficulties, and refuses to take the Oath of Fidelity.

It was very improper for *Augustus*, already crown'd, to consent that the Validity of his Election and Coronation should be debated in a new Diet. In so doing, the Diet of Coronation would no longer have taken place, without which the King would appear to agree, that all which had passed at *Cracow*, was null and illegal. The Primate who was resolv'd to raise as many Difficulties as possible, insisted that there was a Necessity

1698.

for holding an Assembly, to be called a Diet of Pacification, in order to remove the Imputations against the King's Party. It will be seen in the course of this History, that the Primate did not look upon the Oath of Fidelity as indispensable, and there would be room to wonder at his refusing to take it, when required, if his Conduct did not sufficiently explain his Reasons for such Behaviour. He was well pleased, the Nation should believe him the last in submitting, and the King understand at the same time, he was conscious to himself of having it in his power to give him no small Trouble, if that Prince should not observe such Measures with him, as he should approve.

First Af-
fairs of
Augustus.

From this Time, *Augustus* began to act as King: Many Cares came upon him at once. He had engaged to retake *Kaminieck*, and that Engagement was an Essential in his Treaty with the Republick, which would not have elected him without it. The Elector of *Brandenburgh* was very earnest to be reimbursed the 300000 Rixdollars, which he claimed in virtue of a Treaty, made in 1657, between the Elector his Father and King *Casmire*: But what seemed most important, was the re-establishment of Peace in *Lithuania*.

Sapieha was supported by the Army, of which he was Great General, and *Oginski* by the Nobility of the Dutchy, not less offended

offended than himself at the exorbitant Authority, usurped by the *Sapieha's*, in appropriating to themselves all the great Offices to their liking. It was essential to put an end as soon as possible to Differences, that might improve into a Civil War. The King thought fit to discharge himself from the trouble of this Reconciliation, by referring it to the Senate, who assembled by his Order toward the End of *May*. 1698.

In it the Deputies from the Army of *Lithuania*, made their Complaints against *Oginski*, and demanded that Provision should be made for the Payment of the Army, in order for its being put into a Condition to serve effectively that Campaign. Senate assembled.

In the Month of *April*, the Emperor had imparted to the Republick the *Ottoman* Port's Desire, of entering into a Treaty of Peace under the Mediation of *England* and *Holland*; inviting them to appoint their Ministers to treat on the Part of *Poland*. This Affair had been deferr'd for the King's Resolution, who by Advice of the Senate nominated the Secretary *Genofinski* to open that Treaty. *Reisenitz*, one of the Privy Council, was sent to the Court of *Brandenburg* to continue the good Understanding between the two Princes. Regulations made.

The Dowager of *Sobieski*, finding no longer the same Satisfaction in *Poland* she had experienced as Queen and Mother of three Princes, Queen Dowager desires to retire to Rome.

1698. Princes, Candidates for their Father's Throne, had thoughts of Retiring. Her Native Country, *France*, had been the most agreeable Retreat to her, if in her greatest Prosperity she had shewed the *French* Nation more Respect; but offended at *Lewis XIV's* not granting the dignity of Duke and Peer to her Father, the Marquess of *Arquien*, as she had desired, she had long express'd a dislike of every Thing that bore the Name of *French*; and her last Conduct during the Election, gave her little reason to expect the best Reception from a Court, to which she was born a Subject, and where the ill Offices she had done the Prince of *Conti*, were far from being forgot: She therefore thought *Rome* the most proper Place for her Residence, and that it was best to speak of her Absence, only as a Journey for two Years; and lest it should give room to treat her with Injustice, and prejudice her Pretensions upon the République; she desired the King and Senate's Permission; who complied with the Request.

It was not so easy to raise the necessary Supplies, for putting the Artillery into a Condition for the Service of that Campaign. Very good Resolutions were taken as usual, but their Execution was not equally happy; so that the Crown-Artillery were no better provided for than before.

A Progress the King made into *Prussia*, the Beginning of *June*, and his Interview with the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, at *Jo-*
hanzburg, who came thither from *Königs-*
burgh, gave occasion for various Speculations. They made a great hunting match at that Place, and after having passed some Days together, in the Pleasures which the Season and the Country afforded, returned to their Capitals. Several of the Senators, and some of the Grandees, among whom were the Bishop of *Plosko*, the Princes *Lubomirski* and *Czartoreski*, and the Great Treasurer of *Lithuania*, attended the King in this Journey. There was reason to hope, this Interview would have prevented the Misunderstanding between the Kingdom and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, in regard to his Pretension before mention'd: But the Event discovered the same Year, that it was either not called in Question at all, or the Accommodations proposed were insufficient.

Augustus was no sooner returned to *Warsaw*, than he resumed his Design of reconciling the Bishop of *Cujavia* who consecrated him, and the Primate who looked upon that Action as an unpardonable Injury. He invited them both to an Entertainment at *Willanow*, at which the Pope's two Nuncios, and a great Number of the Senators were present. The Primate made this Design of no effect, offering to lay aside all Personal Animosity, but insisted at the same

1698.
 Interview
 between
 the King
 and Elec-
 tor of
Branden-
burgh.

Attempts
 to recon-
 cile the Bi-
 shop of
Cujavia
 and the
 Primate.

1698.

time, that it should be referred to the Republick to decide, whether the Bishop of *Cujavia* had a Right to proclaim or crown a King. *Augustus* would have hazarded more than the Bishop, in admitting this Decision; so the Accommodation was suspended, and the Entertainment went on after the Polish Custom of drinking late in the Night.

Troubles
in *Lithuania*.

The Quartel of the Great General *Sapieha* and Great Standard-bearer *Oginski*, was far more dangerous than that of the two Prelates. The King, who had it much at Heart to terminate their Difference, sent Orders for each of them to repair to *Warsaw*: *Sapieha* obeyed, and arrived there the 19th of *June* with a numerous Retinue. *Oginski* did not think proper to go thither in Person, but thought best to send his Brother, with full Powers, to conclude the Accommodation.

The *Lithuanian* Nobility sent at the same time their Deputies, to complain of the Conduct of the *Sapieha's*, and to present such Articles from them, as they Thought were proper to be inserted in the Treaty: To which Regard was had, and they served in some measure as the Basis of the concluded Agreement.

The Parties sign a Treaty.

The principal of those Articles related to the *Coequation* or Equality of the Privileges of the *Lithuanian* Nobility with that of *Poland*: A free and general Pardon for all who had

had followed either of the Parties: The Dismissal of the *Tartars* retained in the *Dutchy*, under the Standards of the *Sapieha's*: The Establishment of some Companies, to be compos'd of *Lithuanian* Gentlemen, and to be rais'd that Campaign and commanded by the Grand Marshal, with redress of the principal Grievances and Oppressions. It was further concluded, that the Grand Marshal, the Treasurer, and General of *Lithuania*, should have exactly and no further, the same Pretogatives with those of *Poland*, notwithstanding any Custom or Privilege to the contrary: That the Great General should deliver no Appointments, for the Payment of Troops to the Commissaries, but in presence of the Treasurer: That such Commissaries, in conformity to the King's circular Letters, should be elected in the Palatinates, and confirm'd by the General Diet: That the Army should consist of nine thousand Men only; and that all Injuries received and Damages sustained, should be forgotten reciprocally by each Party. Some Articles, which could not be agreed upon, were referred to the approaching Diet.

The King signed the Treaty on the 23d of July, with the Deputies of the two Parties, and well knowing the Importance of engaging the Great General of *Lithuania* in his Interest, took his Measures so well

1698. as to effect it, *Sapieha* came to an Agreement, from which he could never after recede. When he concluded that Accommodation, he was not apprized of what passed the same Day in *Lithuania*. The Prince, his Son, to whom he had left the Command of the Army in his Absence, resolved to signalize himself by some Action of Valour. On the 22d he marched at the Head of twelve Troops of Horse, twelve of Dragoons, and seven Battalions of Foot, carrying with him seven Field-pieces of Cannon loaded with Cartridge-Shot. The next Morning he approached near *Jurgenburg* in *Samogitia*, in sight of the great Standard-bearer, *Oginski's* Camp, who immediately drew up in Battle, and prepared to give him a warm Reception. His Troops could not stand before the Fire of *Sapieha's* Artillery, and fled in such Disorder, that many of them were drowned in the *Niemen*. *Oginski* himself got off with great Difficulty to *Sheidlake* in *Ducal Prussia*, situate below the joining of the Rivers *Niemen* and *Memmet*. A small Number of his Troops followed him thither, whom he rallied, but lost four Pieces of Cannon, his Baggage, and all the Money he had for the Payment of his Troops.

Oginski
defeated.

The News of this Combat made no Alteration at *Warsaw*, the Accommodation subsisting as before. And the King to make
King's
Mandate
to the Sub-
jects of *Lithuania*.

an

an immediate use of it in appeasing the Troubles, published a Mandate, which was in Substance, That since his coming to the Crown, he had endeavoured by himself and Mediators to re-establish the Peace and good Understanding of the States of *Lithuania*, that as it was necessary all Hostilities should cease, it was his Will to make known to all in general, and every one in particular, that as soon as the Army of *Lithuania* should march to begin the Campaign, all Persons should lay down their Arms, and retire to their respective Homes: That if after that time any one should presume to excite or foment new Troubles, he should be excluded entirely from all Privileges of Nobility, and subject to such farther Punishment, as the national Laws inflict upon Disturbers of the publick Tranquillity. In Execution of the Treaty, and Conformity to this Mandate, *Sapieha* sent Orders for the Army to march towards *Leopold*.

Augustus had still in view the taking of *Kamienieck*, and not without good Reason; as well to keep a Body of *Saxon* Troops about him, as to employ the warlike Temper of the *Polish* Nation, and facilitate by some happy Event the Success of the approaching Negotiations. The *Saxons*, intended to second the Arms of the Republick, were cantoned in several Parts of *Poland*, and particularly in the Country about *Cracow*. The Duke

1698.

He prepares for the Campaign.

1698. Duke of *Wirttemberg*, who was to command them, was arrived some time before, and had been several times in conference with the King, upon the Operations of the Campaign. The Magazines were stored with all things necessary for the Army's Subsistence. That of the Crown were assembled near the little Town of *Monasteriz* in *Pokuttia* upon the Borders of *Podolia*. The Saxon Troops were to rendezvous about *Leopold*, where they were to expect the King's Arrival. To which Purpose that Prince left *Warsaw*, and arrived at *Rava* the 10th of *August*, where he found the *Czar*, who was come thither from *Leopold* to confer with him.

He comes
to Rava.

His Inter-
view with
the Czar.

Peter Alexowitz, *Czar* of *Russia*, after a short Stay at *Vienna*, and having visited several Places upon the *Danube*, had returned to the Capital of *Austria* to take his Leave of the Emperor, who had spared neither Pains nor Magnificence to make his Reception the more splendid. It was believed he intended for *Venice*, and his Equipages had taken that Rout, when on a sudden he turned about for *Cracow* to return to his Dominions, where the seditious Conduct of some of his Subjects, emboldened by his Absence, made his Presence necessary. From thence he went to *Leopold*, where he expected to find the King of *Poland*, but not meeting him there, he went on to *Rava*, where

where the two Monarchs passed three Days in concerting the Scheme of their Alliance. It was there they contracted that Friendship which united them in its Consequence, and from which *Augustus* reaped most Advantage: They parted the 13th of *August*; the *Csar* for his Dominions, and the King for *Leopold*, where he arrived the 15th. 1698.

On the 16th he made his Publick Entry on Horseback, preceded by the Companies of Merchants and *Armenians* of the City, who marched in the Rear of Count *Joblo-*
nowski, Great General of the Crown's Company of Guards. The Bishops of *Cujavin* and *Javarin*, and the two Princes *Sobieski* went next; after whom came *Augustus*, followed by the Great and Under Generals of *Poland* and a Number of other Lords. His Life-Guard closed the March. At the Gate of the City he received the Compliments of the Magistrates, who conducted him under a Canopy of State to a Triumphal Arch, prepared for his Reception; and from thence to the Cathedral, where *Te Deum* was sung, and the Mass celebrated. At his coming out of Church he made a Visit to the Queen Dowager, who was come to *Leopold* to wait on him, and to recommend her Family and Interests to his Favour. He arrives at *Leopold* and makes his publick Entry.

On the 18th he held a great Council, at which the Senators, *Polish* Generals, and principal Officers of the *Saxon* Troops were present. Council of War.

1698.

Senti-
ments dif-
fer. Some
for the
Siege of
Kaminieck.

present. In it the Operations of the Cam-
paign were considered, Opinions never were
more different. Some were for besieging
Kaminieck; and judged if that Place were
attacked in form, it might be carried before
Winter, and by that Conquest the Enemy
be removed from the Frontier. The Glory
and Advantage of the Project was more in
their view than the Obstacles to the Ex-
ecution of it.

Others for
the Con-
quest of
Moldavia.

The Sentiments of others were quite dif-
ferent. They observed the Season was too
far advanced; the Troops already fatigued
by long Marches; the Magazines exhausted
in the Delay; and the Army in danger of
wanting Provisions in a Country, where
they could not be had, but at a great Di-
stance. Instead of undertaking the Siege,
the Success of which was uncertain, they
thought it better to fall upon *Moldavia*, to
seize the most important Posts there, to cut
off the Communication of the *Turks* with
Kaminieck, to prevent the passing of Con-
voys, and to quarter the *German* Troops in
that Province during the Winter. They ad-
mitted it reasonable to expect, the *Turks*
and *Tartars* would ravage it themselves, to
prevent the *Poles* and *Germans* from any
Means of subsisting in it; but they believed
it practicable to frustrate that Design by ex-
treme Diligence.

To

To these Difficulties others added, that the *Turks*, having had time to take their Precautions, had thrown a sufficient Number of Men and Provisions into *Kaminieck* to support a long Siege. They observed that many of the Troops were not arrived; and that it could not be expected they should join the main Body so soon as might be desired, thro' the Badness of the Way occasioned by the Fall of Rains. However, continued they, Accounts from *Vienna* agree, that the Conclusion of a Peace is very much solicited, and what Regard may be had to our Interests in that Treaty is uncertain, notwithstanding the League between the Emperor, the *Venetians*, and us; especially if we persist to continue a War, whose being at an End is as necessary to our selves as our Allies. They concluded, that in the present Conjunction the best Method was to join in a Treaty of Peace, which, as it was equally the Desire of all Parties, could not be very remote.

Every one persisted obstinately in their own Opinion; and the Council broke up without coming to any Resolution. They met again the following Days; but it was not thought proper to admit so great a Number of Persons. Their Voices were however no more unanimous, and the Majority seemed to incline to Peace.

Those,

1698.

New
Council
of War.

Reasons
for the
War.

Those, who were for carrying on the War vigorously, did not want Reasons to support their Opinion, They represented that *Poland*, to whom the Empire owed its Safety, and the *Venetians* their Conquests, had not yet gained one Foot of Land: That it was in vain to expect the *Turks* would give them that by a Treaty, which they could not take from them Sword in hand: That whatever Inclinations the Emperor might have for Peace, it was not impossible to change his Sentiments, by representing the Advantages he might acquire from a powerful Diversion of *Poland*, whilst he acted vigorously on his own Side: That supported by such Hopes, that Monarch would be cautious of violating a fundamental Article of the Alliance by a separate Treaty, and that after all it would not be the first time, *Poland* had been known to support the whole Weight of the *Ottoman Arms* alone, and that with considerable Advantage. They added, it was the King's Interest to do some great Action, as glorious for himself as beneficial to the Republic; to which he was besides engaged not to lay down his Arms before the Reduction of *Kaminiack*, and that he could not be wanting to his Promise without forfeiting the Esteem and Confidence of the Nation. They concluded with observing, that the King's Authority could not be better established than

than by a War; for whilst he was at the Head of his Troops, he was in condition to add to his Dependants by his Favours, and to keep those in awe who were proof against them. 1698.

To Reasons so plausible were opposed others that appeared to have no less Weight. ^{Reasons against it.} This would do, said the contrary Party, if the Success before *Kaminieck* was not uncertain. But who can be assured of the taking a Place, abundantly provided for its Defence by the *Turks*, long apprized of the intended Siege? And with what Troops? Those of *Saxony* are much diminished by Fatigues and Diseases, and are not sufficient alone to undertake such a Conquest: And for the *Poles* there is no reckoning upon them. The natural Aversion of the two Nations for each other forbids it; and there is no prevailing upon them to act in Concert. They went on to enlarge upon the malignant Pleasure the Miscarriage of this Enterprize would give the secret Enemies of *Augustus*: That if he should suffer the Disgrace of raising the first Siege, he would be utterly discredited with the *Poles*: That his Coffers were almost empty, and his Treasury exhausted, thro' the insatiable Avarice of an Infinity of People, to whom he had given his Money with Profusion: That his Obligations to the Emperor, who had not a little contributed to placing him

Q

upon

1698.

upon the Throne, well deserved, the King should have the Complaisance to consent to a Peace so ardently desired by his Imperial Majesty: That it was a gross Mistake to believe he would not conclude it separately, if the King refused to concur in negotiating and signing the Treaty: That his Interest in concluding it was too great, and the Motives in justification of his Conduct too plausible, not to excuse the Neglect of a too scrupulous Propriety: That in such case *Poland* was in no condition to resist the whole Force of the *Turks*, which would then undoubtedly be turned against them, and could much less flatter themselves with being able in their Circumstances to make Conquests upon them: That if these were times of more Union, more Riches, and better Troops in *Poland*, Delays would be utterly inconsistent: And as for the supposed Advantages the King might make of the War in establishing himself upon the Throne, that was answered in the wide difference between other States and *Poland*, where the King, far from being always Master of his Troops, was often obliged to abandon himself to their Discretion, and to sacrifice his Counsels and Interests to the Caprice of the Army: That the King, by making Peace, would be disengaged from his Promise to retake *Kaminieck*, and would spare himself the Expence of a Million, which that Enterprize

terprize must cost him: That in fine the most certain Means for the King to be esteemed, beloved, and even feared by the *Poles*, was to re-establish his Finances, which were impossible, should the War be prolonged upon the Foot it was absolutely necessary to support it. 1698:

Augustus observing the Earnestness with which his Resolutions were expected, used two Precautions at the same time: One was to appoint Ambassadors for the Treaty of Peace, and the other to prepare his Army, and to be in readiness against all Events.

The King resolving to continue idle no longer, reviewed the Troops the 6th of *September*, which encamped the Day following at *Gliniani*, a small Town in the Neighbourhood of *Leopold*. Advice came about this time that a Detachment of *Tartars* had entered *Volhinia*, ravaged the Country as far as *Brody*, and defeated a Part of the Crown Army commanded by the Palatine *Szdefchi*. He thought it no longer proper to defer putting himself at the Head of his Troops, and went the 11th with the Duke of *Wirtemberg* to the Camp at *Gliniani*, where his Baggage and Artillery with those of the Crown arrived the Night before.

The Generals *Braun* and *Zacherowski* marched with a Detachment of *Polish* Horse and Foot to the Fort *La Trinité*, to oblige the *Tartars* to draw together, and call in

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the Party spoken of before; and at the same time to discover whether their Army was really so strong as some Prisoners reported. Every thing seemed to denote the Siege of *Kaminieck*, and the Tartars kept upon their guard.

March of
the Crown
Army.

The Crown Army, which had been sometime at *Monasteriz* upon the *Niefter*, had Orders to march to *Podbaicia*, to join the *Saxon* Troops who were advancing thither. The *Tartars*, who had Advice of their March and Strength, resolved to attack them before they joined the King, and followed them with their usual Swiftnefs, to the Number of thirty five thousand under the command of two Sultans. They either cut in pieces, or made Prisoners all the Stragglers of the Troops. The *Polish* Army arrived however in the Suburbs of *Podbaicia*, where they drew up in battle, in case the Enemy, who were but half a League distant, should come to attack them.

The *Tar-*
sars attack
it.

Their Precaution was not vain. The next Morning being the 9th, at break of Day they had scarce formed in three Lines when the *Tartars* suddenly fell on. They instantly put the advanced Guard to flight, and threw themselves upon the front Line, who received the first Shock without breaking. At the same time they attacked the Rear, and put the Wings in disorder, which they also charged, having surrounded the whole

whole Army. They soon opened a Passage to the Baggage, which they plundered entirely, and where the Great General lost his whole Equipage. 1698.

This Plunder saved the *Polish* Army, which was then in the utmost Confusion. The *Tartars*, who thought of nothing but the Booty, gave them time to rally and renew the Charge with Success. They repulsed them at last, after a Fight of eight Hours, in which the Artillery, which was perfectly well supplied, was of the greatest Service. The Plunder however which the *Tartars* had seized could not be recovered, nor could they hinder their burning the Suburbs and part of the City of *Podhaicia*. The *Poles*, who were only eight thousand Men, lost about nine hundred Soldiers and Officers upon this occasion, of whom four were *Starosts*. The Number of Prisoners and wounded was much greater. Among the first were the Great General *Jablonski's* Son and two *Starosts*. The Booty cost the *Tartars* dear, of whom a dreadful Slaughter ensued.

The King, whose first Accounts of this Battle were confused, expected the *Tartars* would come on to attack him, and drew up his Army in Line of Battle; when two Prisoners were brought in who assured him the *Tartars* were retiring towards *Kaminieck*. Safe on that side he went to review the

1698.



Troops of the Crown, who continued under the Walls of *Padbaicia*, and at his return called a great Council of War to consult proper Measures for employing the rest of the Campaign effectively.

Projects
thwarted.

The only Methods in his power were evident. The Army of *Lithuania* was not yet arrived, and Provisions began to grow short. The *Turks* and *Tartars* were in such Numbers at *Kaminieck* and the Parts adjacent, that they were strong enough at once to defend the Place in case of attack, and to intercept Convoys. The *Hospodar* of *Moldavia* had excused himself from quartering Troops, and it was judged necessary to send back the Crown Army into the Kingdom, and to distribute the *Germans* into *Poland*, *Lithuania*, and upon the Frontier about *Fort la Trinité*, in order to cut off the Entrance of Provisions into *Kaminieck*, the Siege of which Place was referred to next Year. The *Tartars* had been reinforced by Troops of their own Nation, and by a Body of *Janizaries*, and the *Polish* Army could not have attacked them but with the

Arrival of
the *Lithu-
anians*.

greatest hazard. That of *Lithuania*, which arrived soon after, did not make the Enterprize more easy; and the Adventure that happened when the King went to review them, gave him a just Sense of what he might expect from the two Armies upon occasion.

It

It were difficult to say whether the *Tar-* ^{1698.}
tars or the *Poles* were more offended with Jealousy
the Presence of the *Saxon* Troops. The of the
Tartars far from having the *Germans* in Poles and
contempt, looked upon them as the greatest Saxons.
Obstacle to their Progress: The *Poles* on
their side little moved with the present Uti-
lity of an auxiliary Army, considered only
the danger of their Liberty: An Evidence
of which Temper they gave the Palatine of
Marienburg, whose only Fault was his be- ^{Palatine}
ing well affected to the King's Party. The ^{of Marien-}
Starost Krosmastowski accused him of having ^{burgh in-}
reflected upon the *Polish* Nation, and given ^{sulted in}
his Advice that the *German* Troops should the *Lithu-*
enter the Kingdom. Their Rage rose so anian
high that the *Starost* and some other Offi-
cers by his Example, without regard to the
Dignity of Palatine and Senator, or to his
being the King's Favourite, fell on him Sa-
bre in hand with that Fury, that they would
have cut him to pieces if he had not happily
escaped across the Tents. This Affair blew
up such a Flame, that the King believing ^{The King}
himself no longer safe in the *Polish* Camp, ^{retires}
made as fast as possible to his own, and drew ^{from their}
up his Army in battle, with design to do ^{Camp and}
himself Justice by force, in case the Crown ^{draws up}
Generals should refuse to punish the Au- ^{his own}
thors of the Disorder. That Army it self in battle,
was not exempt from the same Animosity
with the *Lithuanians*. They accused the

1698. Palatine of having prevented the Payment of their Arrears, and put themselves also into a posture of defence.

He separates the Armies.
End of the Campaign

The two Armies continued in this Disposition from two in the Afternoon till Midnight, during which time People went frequently backwards and forwards between the Camps: But the Generals of the *Polish* Army having given the King to understand they threatened to confederate with the Nobility, who were already too much incensed against the foreign Troops, *Augustus* made use of the Intelligence and thought only of putting an end to the Campaign as soon as possible. He suspended his Resentment and Projects, and went to *Leopold*, having first given his Orders for the Distribution of the Winter Quarters. This Incident explained the Importance of having acted upon the Plan proposed in the last Council of War. The *Poles* did not forget the Conduct of *Augustus* in withdrawing from theirs to his own Army, and in ranging the last in battle, as if his Design had been to have come to Blows, and to have righted himself by the force of Arms; and remembered also the violent and seditious Behaviour of their own Officers, and each Party sufficiently comprehended of what consequence it was to the *Poles* to remove the *Germans*, and to the King to retain them for his Security.

Divi-

Division thus prevented the Armies from taking the Field, as they might have done with good effect; and the same Discord occasioned their remaining in a shameful Inaction. *Poland* had not seen a long time so fine a Body of Troops nor in such Numbers, which however were of no Service for want of Union. The Army of the Crown and that of *Lithuania*, had besides only fifty field Pieces in their Train; the great Artillery, of which they were absolutely in want, not being yet arrived from *Saxony*. It seemed as if the three Armies had been only drawn together to separate immediately into the Quarters assigned them. *Flemming's* Regiment with all the *German* Horse marched into *Lithuania*. The Regiments of *Denhof*, *Berenstein*, and *Jordan*, took the Rout of *Warsaw*, where they were to winter.

The King did not defer going thither in Person to put some end to the Troubles of *Lithuania*. The Differences between the *Sapiehas* and the Nobility were far from being reconciled. The Treaty mediated by the King and Senate had not re-established Peace. Upon the first News of the Accommodation the Nuncio's disapproved the Conditions, tho' most of the Articles were taken from the Demands made by their Deputies in their Names. They assembled at *Wilna*, elected a Marshal, and protested against the Treaty of *Warsaw*. To give their rejecting it


1698.

it an appearance of Propriety, it was necessary to declare their Deputies had exceeded their Instructions, and had no Authority to conclude an Agreement upon Conditions so inconsistent with their Sense: Which they did accordingly, and resolved to summon the whole Nobility to *Grodno*, the 15th of *October*, and to raise part of the Money due to the Army of *Lithuania*, in order to satisfy the Troops, and engage them in their Interest. Hostilities began again in several places, and the House of *Radziwil's* Lands had no more favour than those of other Persons.

Elector of
Branden-
burgh's
Enter-
prize upon
Elbing.

The King was still at *Leopold*, when news came of the Elector of *Brandenburg's* having seized the City of *Elbing*. We have already said, that Prince had a Claim upon *Poland*, that the Debt had been contracted in the Reign of *Casmire*, who had engaged the City of *Elbing*, as a Mortgage to secure the Payment. The Affair was now of forty Years standing, and the Elector would be delayed no longer. The 17th of *October* he wrote to the King and Republick of *Poland*, and demanded that the City of *Elbing* should be surrender'd to him in Caution, till the Reimbursement of what was due to him, according to the Treaty of *Welaw* in 1657. Whether *Augustus* regarded this Claim only as a matter of Form from a Creditor, who thought fit to put him in mind of his Right,
or

or was perswaded the Elector only threatened, without intending to infringe the ancient Alliance between *Poland* and *Brandenburgh*, which had been renew'd the 8th of *June* the same Year, he made no haste to Answer. The Elector however, at the same time he wrote this Letter, published a ^{1698.} *His Mani-* Manifesto in which he set forth, that his Debt was founded upon a Treaty, confirmed with all others by the new Alliance made with the King and Republick: That the ancient Treaty stipulated among other Articles, that the City of *Elbing* should be put into the Elector's Hands, as a Security for the Contract made in consideration of the Services of the Arms of *Brandenburgh*, which had contributed in preventing the Ruin of *Poland*, and in re-establishing its ancient Liberties: That however after a delay of forty Years, and many fruitless Remonstrances, that Article had not been executed; the Elector therefore, having no longer any Hopes of the City's being voluntarily surrendered to him, was at length resolved to take possession of it by such Means as were in his Power, and that without Hostilities if possible. He pretended in so doing only to act consistently with what he might have done long before, according to his Right acquired in virtue of a Perpetual Alliance solemnly sworn, and seemed to expect his Conduct would not be disapproved

1698.  disapproved by his *Polish* Majesty, as it removed a just Reproach from the King and Republick for infringing a Perpetual Alliance. He protested his Intention was to observe religiously the Treaties his Predecessors and himself had made with the Republick, and promised to preserve the Rights and Privileges of the City of *Elbing*, and only to take possession of that Place in right of Caution, which he engaged to resign without delay as soon as the Debt should be discharged.

He orders
the Place
to be in-
vested.

The Elector's Letter at the same time to the Primate, was much to the same effect: He notified his Pretensions to the Magistracy of *Elbing*, who desired a Delay. Their Secretary, who was dispatch'd to *Berlin* to obtain a Compliance with that Request, could not prevent the City's being invested. In vain did the *Burghers*, by their Letter of *October* 24th, represent to the Elector, that the Article of the Treaties, by which King *Casimire* mortgaged their Town, was made without their Participation, and without their giving the least room for it; and that the same King and the Republick had released them from it, by obliging themselves to the payment of the Sums promised the Elector. That they understood with Grief the Satisfaction had not been made, but hoped in consideration of the Respect, they had always testify'd for him, he would indulge them,

them in time to apply to the King of *Po-* 1698.
land, and to implore an immediate Discharge
of the Debt, and that; let what would be
the Event, they would endeavour to find
Means of satisfying his Electoral High-
ness.

The Elector continued firm in his Demand of the Execution of the Treaty, insisting upon the Payment, or the Mortgage; and as the Inhabitants had expressed an Intention to defend themselves, he insinuated his desire to take possession without Hostilities: That it depended upon themselves to prevent the Ruin of their City, and gave them hopes of the utmost Favour, in case they consented to open him their Gates. He added he had given Orders to suspend Hostilities till the return of their Secretary, and till they should make known their Intention; but upon condition their Answer should be immediate and decisive; and that if they deferred it in the least, their Silence should be understood as an Intention to frustrate his Rights. He was far from rejecting their Offer to pay the Debt themselves; but did not believe them in a Condition alone to advance the Money; that he looked upon that Proposal, only as a Means to gain Time, and that if they had such a Design, it might as well be executed after the Entrance of his Garrison. At the same time he gave them to understand, they hazarded

1698.

zarded every thing, if their Resistance reduced him to proceed to the last Extremities.

He threatens to bombard it.

Lest these Threats should not make sufficient Impression, he annex'd an irresistible kind of Argument. His General *Braun* was commanded to point five Pieces of Cannon and eleven Mortars against the Town, and Batteries were rais'd accordingly before the Market Port, and six Cannon more planted before the Port of *Mubien*. The General obey'd his Orders, and every thing was ready to batter in Breach the 9th of *November*.

Braun shewed the City's Deputies his Preparations, told them his Orders, and perswaded them to prevent the Loss of their Effects, and the Ruin of their Families. There was no occasion for so much Preparation to terrify Citizens little accustomed to Sights of that kind. Their Representations, the Idea of an inevitable Bombardment, the Elector's Promise of Protection in case of Submission, the little Appearance that the King would come to their Relief in time, all promoted the Capitulation, which was signed the 11th of *November*. The Maintenance of their Privileges and Religion, Schools and Hospitals, the Conservation of their Magistracy and Commerce, the Suppressions of the Imposts upon their Merchandise at *Pelaw*, with some other

It capitulates.

other Conditions, were the Substance of this Treaty. 1698.

Augustus seemed extremely affected with the first News of the City of *Elbing's* danger. He expressed his Resentment in the most lively Terms, and declared it necessary that Reparation should be had at any rate. He was still at *Leopold*, intending for *Lituania* to redress in Person the Troubles which daily increased there: But this Accident disconcerted all his Measures. He wrote to the Senate the 29th of *October*, which Letter was dated in the second Year of his Reign. Its Contents were: The Enterprize of his Electoral Highness of *Brandenburgh* against the City of *Elbing*, which we could not expect, and which has been done without any previous Demand and Application to Ourselves, and the Republick, to which every Enemy is obliged, surprizes us exceedingly, and justifies the Vengeance, incumbent upon us to take. The rest of this Letter insists upon the Necessity of relieving the Place, and appoints the Senate to meet at *Warsaw* on the 12th of *November*, to consult with him the necessary Measures to prevent the loss of it. He arrived at *Warsaw* on the 10th, so that *Elbing* capitulated the Day before the Senate was to assemble.

The Anger of the King, the Primate, and Grandees of *Poland*, spent itself in Complaints

1698. *plaints and Murmurs.* The Inaction of *Augustus* upon this Occasion, corresponded so ill with his former Threatning, that it was believed to have been concerted with the Elector; and *Augustus's* Enemies supposed it a Consequence of the Interview at *Jo-hansburgh*. That Prince, they said, got by it a Pretence for retaining his *Saxons* in the Kingdom. That Suspicion was not more just than the Court's Opinion, that the Primate had secretly called in the Elector of *Brandenburg's* Forces. Considering his Scheme of Politicks, he might indeed hope some good Effect of that Business to the State, as it was necessary *Augustus*, who had engaged to pay the Debts of the Republick, should either discharge this, and restore *Elbing* to *Poland*, which would by that Means satisfy the Elector's Claim, or that in failing to do it, he would draw an Enemy upon his hands, who by a powerful Diversion might assist the *Polish* Malecontents to send him back to *Saxony*.

And the
Primate.

Falsity of
those Su-
spicions.

But it is needless to look further for the Motives of the Invasion of *Elbing* than to the Elector of *Brandenburg's* Politicks. That Prince was too penetrating, not to observe a Conjecture so much in his Favour, and that if he suffered it to escape, he might never retrieve the Opportunity. The Republick, divided by the Misunderstanding between the King and People, and by the
Discord

Discord of the Grandees, whom the double Election had inflamed against each other: The Nobility of *Lithuania*, too much taken up with their own Differences to regard any other Affairs: A King, conscious of not being sufficiently settled in his Throne to hazard a War that would entirely exhaust his Finances, and compleat the Ruin of his Hereditary Estates: The Facility of seizing a Mercantile City, such as *Elbing*: The Alternative of either holding the Place at first in Caution, and afterwards as an Acquisition; or at worst to be re-imbursed a Sum, which his Father and himself had in vain expected forty Years together. These were sufficient Views to engage the Elector in the Enterprize; he wanted no other Motives; and the Suggestions in regard to the King and Primate, were only Refinements of the different Parties Resentment to each other.

The Elector of *Brandenburgh* had judged very justly, and the Success answer'd his Expectation. In vain might *Augustus* solicit the Senate, or recommend Unity to the *Poles*, their Deliberations were no less tedious. A perpetual Distrust of each other continued the Division of the Grandees, and all the Result of their Debates was, That the Cities of *Thorn* and *Dantzick* should be advertised to keep upon their Guard: That the King should be desired to

R.

send

The King
solicites
the Poles
to retake
Elbing.

1698.

send his German Troops, either in whole or in part, into *Polish Prussia*: That they might be employed in retaking *Elbing*, or at least in preventing the Elector from making any new Conquests: That Proclamation should however be publish'd to oblige the whole Nobility, and particularly those of *Prussia* to take Arms, with Orders to mount on Horseback upon the third Publication; and that Ministers should be dispatched to the Allies to demand their Aid.

Resident
of Bran-
denburgh
order'd to
retire.

Univer-
salia pub-
lished.

Conformably to this Plan, *Augustus* ordered *Werner* Resident of *Brandenburgh* at *Warsaw* to leave the Kingdom, and appointed the Palatine of *Inowidzbow*, his Ambassador Extraordinary to *Stockholm*, *Copenhagen* and the *Hague*. He published the *Universalia*, (or general Proclamations) in which the Elector of *Brandenburgh* was reproached with the Republick's great Favour, in conferring upon him the Title *Serenissime*, (most Serene) instead of *Illustissime*, (most Illustrious) and accused him of having taken advantage from the Disunion of the Times to invade *Poland*, for which he ought rather to have taken Arms as a Vassal. It added, the Nation suffers by a Son of its own, whom it has loaded with Favours, whom it has installed into the high Government of *Prussia*, and who, by thus attacking it in return, is almost unworthy of the Name of Christian. Force

so

so employ'd without Right, gives reason to apprehend Ambition may be more ^{1698.} ~~assump-~~ tive; particularly as that Prince in some of his Letters affects the Title of King, either seriously or out of Derision. After this Preamble, in which a Virulence of Style prevailed, that still ran highest on what reproach'd the Elector, followed a kind of Declaration of War. Virulence of their Style.

That Piece, dated the 15th of November, was not long without the Elector of Brandenburg's Answer. His Reply set forth his Pretensions, and justified his Conduct with a wise Moderation. It distinguishes the King from the Writer of the *Universalia*, and full of Reserve and Respect for the one, directs the Bitterness of his Defence solely to the other. Elector's Answer.

The remarkable Difference of those Writings did honour to the Elector. He does not take his Manner from his Adversary, but preserves that Air of Dignity and Wisdom so becoming a Great Prince. On the contrary the Style of the *Universalia* distinguishes a violent *Pole*, endeavouring to embroil two Princes irretrievably, whom he suspects of an Understanding prejudicial to his Views, and to take his Advantage from their Disagreement. *Augustus* permitted this Piece to go abroad in his Name, demonstrating by that Complacency, there was

1698.

no secret Intelligence between himself and the Elector.

The Emperor endeavours to put an end to the Difference.

The Emperor apprehending a War in the North would be the Consequence of Hostilities, offered directly his Mediation, which both Parties agreed to accept. Count *Sürenski*, his Envoy at the Court of *Warsaw*, a Person much esteemed and beloved by the *Polish* Nobility, was very industrious to reconcile the King and the Elector.

Every thing concurred to incline *Augustus* to a speedy Accommodation. Jealousy and Distrust united to oppose his best Designs. The Towns of *Tborn* and *Dantzick* excused themselves from receiving his Troops, and did not give themselves the trouble to palliate their Refusal with any plausible or satisfactory Excuse. The Elector on his Part express'd no less Inclination for Peace, but always under a Proviso very difficult to execute. For the Preliminary Article, he insisted upon the Reimbursement of the Sum stipulated by the Treaty of 1657. That indispensable Condition protracted the Negotiation above a Year.

The Queen's Journey deferred.

These Difficulties however removed another trouble from *Augustus*. It was demanded that the Queen should come to *Poland*, and give certain and publick Proofs of her Conversion. It had been given out in order to perplex the Affair, that that Prince, less prejudiced to the Protestant Religion,

gion, express'd no longer a dislike of the Roman Catholick Principles, and it was industriously reported she listen'd to them with great Satisfaction. *Augustus* could no longer defer shewing his Subjects a Queen, whom they so earnestly desired to see. Her Presence had without doubt destroy'd the Impressions it was necessary the *Poles* should have, in respect to her Sentiments of the Roman Catholick Religion. The continual Agitation of the Kingdom was a very good Excuse for deferring that Princess's Journey till the next Year; and the King had from thence the advantage of not being reduced to discover he had promised a Conversion, not in his power to make good.

The Business of *Elbing* was not the only Source of Trouble to him. We have observed, that in the Distribution of the *Saxon* Troops, part of them were to march into *Lithuania*, where Quarters were ordered them in the *Oeconomates*, certain Lands of *Demesh*, assigned for the Entertainment of the King's Household. These Troops were on their March, and the King who set out the 18th of *November* arrived at *Brzescia* the 24th, where he stopt to be better informed in the State of Affairs, and not to expose his Person too hastily. The first News he receiv'd were two Deputations, one from the Senators assembled at *Grodno*, who assured him of their Fidelity and their

Sequel of
the Trou-
bles in *Li-
thuania.*

1698.

Nobility
oppose the
Entrance
of the Sax-
on Troops
into *Lithu-
ania*.

They en-
ter it.

Zeal for the Marshal of the Dutchy; and the other from the *Lithuanian* Nobility assembled in the same place. They desired the King, that his Troops might not march into the Dutchy, and pleaded the Ruin of the Country, already occasioned by the Hostilities of the contending Parties, as the Reason of their Request; adding the impossibility of finding Subsistence there for an Army, who had the Reputation of no great Complacency in their Quarters. The *Lithuanians* demanded eight Years Arrears, and threaten'd if the King would not comply, to oppose the Entrance of his Troops into the Dutchy. They did not fail however to march thither, to the Number of twelve Regiments of Horse, and approach'd *Grodno*; whither the King followed, placed a Garrison in the Town, and sent the rest to quarter in the neighbouring *Oeconomates*. They did not find those Quarters free from Disturbance, and it had been worse for them if the *Lithuanians* could have agreed among themselves; but their Divisions augmented daily. Whilst Endeavours were using to reconcile their Chiefs, the Nobility and the Army came to Blows the beginning of *December*.

New
Combat
between
Oginski
and *Sapie-
ha*.

The *Lithuanian* Army which was only eight thousand strong, kept upon the Defensive. *Oginski*, whom the ill Success of the first Combat could not discourage, see-
ing

ing himself at the head of fifteen thousand of the Nobility, was fond of the Occasion to return the Affront he had received from *Sapieha* at *Jurgenburgh*. The Victory was not long in suspense between Forces so unequal, but declared itself for the Nobility. 1698

The Chiefs of the Army, convinc'd of their Inferiority, began to fall their Crests, and to have less aversion for the Proposals made by the Bishop of *Wilna* as Moderator. That Prelate, whom the King had appointed to concert measures of Peace between the two Parties, was very zealous in the Affair. Perhaps without the Disadvantage the Army had suffered, he would have found the Success not a little difficult. But at length on the 20th of *December*, Prince *Sapieha* being posted near *Grodno* where the King then was, and the Nobility with *Oginski*, encamped at a small distance from him: *Flemming* General of the *Saxons*, at the head of twenty eight Companies of his Troops, advanc'd between the Armies, and order'd *Sapieha* in the Name of the King and the Republick, to disband his Army immediately. The Prince paus'd a little, but having considered the Consequences of his Refusal, and that *Oginski's* Troops were thrice his Number, he took the only Means in his Power, and obeyed. Commissioners from each Party met in the presence of

The King
breaks the
Army of
Lithuania.

1698.
 Treaty of
 Pacificati-
 on.

Flemming, whom the King had appointed Mediator, and a Treaty was sign'd, of which the principal Articles were: That the Army which was the principal Occasion of the Quarrel, and the assembling of the Nobility should remain disbanded: That two thousand six hundred and twenty Foot, including the Regiment of the Republick, should be retained: That every Officer should take an Oath of Fidelity, and promise never to undertake any thing against the Republick, and to serve the King with due Obedience: That one thousand one hundred and forty Dragoons should be kept on Foot, and have their Quarters at *Pinsk*: That the *Hungarian* Troops should be dismissed as useless. The Troops retained and those dismissed, were promised a Year's Pay for their whole Pretensions, and were discharged from all Claims upon themselves: That all Acts of Hostilities done by either Party, should be made void by a General Amnesty: That the Sums agreed to be paid by the King under the *Pacta Conventa*, for the Use of the Army, should be paid accordingly, and that the Republick should solícite the Execution of that Promise: In respect to the Arrears granted to the Troops, Application should be made for the Payment to the Diets summoned for the Month of *February*. It was farther agreed, that the new Levies should be deferred till the approaching Diet: That proper

Book III. *under* AUGUSTUS II.

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per Methods should be used to oblige the Great General to observe exactly the Institution of Coequation: That, as some *Palatinates* had refused to furnish Winter Quarters and other Contributions, Deputies should be sent to the Diets to demand Justice. After some Articles of personal Relation to the General, it was regulated that the Artillery should be supplied, and paid out of the Revenues of *Lipniski*, *Geranowski*, and *Witopsuski*, till the approaching Diets, when the General of the Artillery should deliver in the Account: That the said Artillery should be lodged in the Arsenal of *Wilna*, from whence it should only be removed to be employed against the Enemies of the Republick: That each Party should protect the *Tartars* of *Lithuania*, as well in regard to their Goods as their Persons; provided they immediately took the Oath of Fidelity to the King and the Republick.

1698.

To this Treaty both Parties signed the 20th of *December* 1698, in the Camp between *Lawno* and *Pitzwiez*. In execution of the Articles the Troops were broke in presence of the Mediators, and the Companies having furled their Colours, resigned them into the Hands of the Persons commissioned to receive them. After which the Number of Troops mentioned in the Treaty, were retaken into the Service; and to conclude,

Consequences of
the Treaty

1698. clude, the Bishop of *Wilna* sung the *Te Deum*, which Act of Thanksgiving was accompanied with the Discharge of the Cannon, and the general Atclamation of God *bles the King*.

Prince *Sapierha*, who thought fit to spare himself the Displeasure of being present at the disbanding the Army, went next Day to *Grodno*, where the great Standard-bearer *Oginski* was not long after him. Each of them expressed their mutual Satisfaction in the Conclusion of the Treaty, and not only consented to give the King's Troops Winter Quarters in *Lithuania*, but offered to raise ten thousand Men for his Service.

The King
returns to
Warsaw.

Augustus, having so happily concluded this Affair, left *Grodno* two Days after, and passed thro' *Warmia*, whither the Bishop went to receive him. He stayed a Day there, and continuing his Journey, attended by that Prelate and other Grandees, arrived at *Warsaw* the 2d of *January*. His first

1699.
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Care was to put the great Project for reconciling the Primate and Bishop of *Cujavia* on foot again. This Affair was of too great consequence, in regard to what depended upon it, to be neglected. It was entirely carrying his Point to prevent the Primate from referring the Validity of his Coronation by that Prelate to the ensuing Diet, as a Question necessary to be examined. The King had put off that Diet till the Month of

Diet de-  
ferred.



of March, and two Motives made this delay necessary. He was in hopes that Means might be found in this Interval to re-establish a good Understanding between those Prelates before the hazard of a Diet, in which the Cardinal's Resentment might revive the publick Animosities but ill composed at present. In the second place, the Success of the Negotiations at *Carlowitz*, where the Emperor and other Allies had their Plenipotentiaries, was not a little to his Satisfaction. They were treating a Peace with the *Turks*, and the least Advantage to the Republick from the Articles, could not but have an happy Effect upon the Diet in the King's Favour.

1699.

The Event of those Negotiations answered his Expectation. The Peace between the King, the Republick of *Poland*, and the Grand Signior, was signed at *Carlowitz*, the 26th of *January*, by *Stanislaus Malakowski*, Plenipotentiary of *Poland*, and by *Mehemet Effendi* and *Alexander Mauro Cardato*, the Sultan's Plenipos. It contains eleven Articles, of which the Substance, without that heap of Expressions and Phrases often superfluous, which a jealous and distrustful Policy has introduced into the Treaties of Princes, is as follows;

- I. The ancient Amity shall be re-established; the Provinces of the two States to be distin-

Peace of  
*Carlowitz*.

Condi-  
tions of the  
Treaty.

1699.

distinguished for the future by their ancient Boundaries, such as they were before the two last Wars, without any Alterations.

II. The *Poles* shall restore all the Fortresses in their Possession upon the ancient Frontiers of *Moldavia*.

III. *Kaminieck* shall be restored to the King and Republick in its present Condition, before the 15th of *March*; the Sultan renouncing all Pretensions upon *Podolia* and the *Ukraine*.

IV. The Sultan shall forbid all his Subjects and Vassals, and particularly the *Tartars*, from committing any Acts of Hostility for the future against the Kingdom or Subjects of *Poland*: The *Visiers*, *Beglerbeks*, *Cham of Crim Tartary*, the other *Tartar* Princes and Lords, and the *Vayvode of Moldavia* shall have express Orders to be vigilant in preserving the Tranquillity of the Frontiers, and to punish the Violators of the publick Peace upon pain of being punished themselves; *Poland* engaging to do the same on their part.

V. The Empire acknowledges *Poland* to be a State that always was entirely free and independent, and that it has no Right to molest it by any Claim, Foundation, or Pretext whatsoever.

VI. The *Tartars* who have abandoned their Country to settle in *Moldavia*, in contempt of former Treaties, shall quit the  
Places

Places they possess, and be obliged to keep within the Limits of their own Country. 1699.

VII. The Religious of the Roman Catholic Church throughout the whole *Ottoman* Empire, shall enjoy the free Exercise of the Functions, annexed to their Religion and Circumstances, according to Treaties subsisting and ancient Privileges; and the Ambassador of *Poland* at the Port shall be admitted to make such Demands and Remonstrances upon this head, as he shall be ordered by the King and Republick.

VIII. The Liberty of Trade shall be re-established for all Merchants of the two Nations, who shall freely pass and repass with their Merchandise, paying only the ancient Duties, to which no new Impost shall be added: And no Merchant shall be obliged to pay any Debt upon verbal Evidence only, nor shall be subject to any Contracts not set forth by Bill, or other lawful Writing under his Hand.

IX. All Prisoners and Captives, taken during the War, shall be returned on both sides, paying the Ransom settled by former Treaties: Such Ransom to be lowered in proportion to the Time the Captive shall have served; and if that cannot be amicably adjusted with the Patron, in such case the Judges of the respective Places shall decide equitably. Captives who may be taken after the Peace, shall be restored without

1699.

out any Ransom: Free Passage thro' the whole *Ottoman* Empire, to be granted for the Redemption of the *Poles* in Slavery: All Prisoners of War shall be exchanged.

X. The Vayvode of *Moldavia* shall continue in good Intelligence with *Poland* as in times past; and neither *Poland* nor *Moldavia* shall protect the Fugitives of either Country.

XI. The 11th and last Article confirms the former Treaties in every Point, not contrary to the present Treaty, or to the perpetual Rights of the respective Powers: Each of which obliging it self to the religious Observance of the Peace, to notify it to all Governors, Officers, and Magistrates in the space of thirty Days, and to punish severely all Infraction after that time: *Poland* promises to dispatch a Minister to carry the Ratification of it to the *Porte*, and to receive there that of the *Sultan*; and also to send as soon as may conveniently be done, a solemn Embassy to the *Ottoman* Court, to confirm the Peace and re-establish entirely a solid and lasting Amity between his Highness and *Poland*.

Good  
Conse-  
quences  
of this  
Treaty.

Such was the Result of the Negotiations of *Carlowitz*, whereby *Poland* regained the important Fortrels of *Kaminnick*, *Podolia*, and the *Ukraine*, by the Mediation of its Allies. An happy Event for *Augustus*, who  
saw

saw himself thereby disengaged from the most difficult of his Promises to the *Polish* Nation. The Restitution of this Place was the more agreeable to the Republick from its not having any room to expect it; as the publick Rejoicings sufficiently expressed. The whole Nation applauded a perpetual Peace, which left the King at liberty to terminate gloriously the Affair of *Elbing*. The *Turkish* Commandants of Places upon the Frontiers, had Orders to put a Stop to all Hostilities.

The more remote of the *Tartars* who had not yet received this Order, or who perhaps were already apprized, they were upon the point of being confined by the Peace to their Deserts, made haste to take Advantage of the Security into which the News of it had thrown *Poland*. They penetrated as far as *Samber* and *Leopold*, and to several other Places, making a dreadful Havock, and entirely ruining and burning at *Jayniakowitz*, the Estates of the Great General, carrying off abundance of Prisoners. The General sent *Strefniński* and *Czabrowski* in pursuit of them, with the Troops mightiest at hand. The *Tartars* aware of their March, took care to retire, taking with them upwards of 12000 Slaves: But the *Poles* in the pursuit came up with them before they made the Frontier, and retook part of the Prisoners.

This

1699.

New Ir-  
ruption  
of the  
*Tartars*.

1699. This Accident interrupted the Joy which then reigned at *Warsaw*.

Rejoic-  
ings of the  
Carnaval.

*Augustus* forgot nothing that might recommend the Diversions of the Carnaval to the *Poles*. He knew nothing was more consistent with good Policy than to employ the People in grateful Amusements; and tho' Reason of State should not have had its share in them, the Prince's Genius naturally inclined him to such Pleasures. That Prince, born with a Constitution healthy and robust, had to the Advantages of his Person, a Spirit turned to Politeness and Gallantry, an Heart susceptible of tender Impressions, and an unbounded Magnificence of Soul. Publick Entertainments were the more his Taste as they supplied him occasions of shining, always admirable, not only for his Strength, which few Men equalled, but for the Grace, with which the least of his Actions were commonly attended. The fair Sex who were always invited, and who were its greatest Ornaments, were easily habituated to share in the Pleasures of a splendid and magnificent Court. The King was in the twenty ninth Year of his Age, and his Heart not always unconcerned upon these Occasions.

The King  
holds a  
Council.

This did not however make him neglect Business. The 18th of *February* he held a Council, at which were present the Primate, the

the Bishop of *Plosko*, the *Castellans* of *Wilna* and *Samogitia*, the Grand Marshal, the Great Treasurer, the Vice-Chancellors of the Kingdom and Dutchy, and the other Great Officers of State, who came to the following Resolutions. 1699.

That the King should be desired to summon a general Diet at *Warsaw* for the last of *May* ensuing: That it should be referred to the King to choose Commissioners to deliver or receive from the *Turks* the Forts, of which the Restitution had been stipulated at *Carlowitz*, and that he should be intreated at the same time not to bestow that Trust upon any Persons but such as were capable of discharging it effectually: That the Mediation of the Emperor, the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, and the States General, should be accepted, to terminate amicably the Affair of *Elbing*; provided the Elector of *Brandenburgh* would leave all things in the Condition he found them, and that Conferences should be had in consequence at *Elbing* and not at *Breslaw*, which Place the Emperor had nominated for the Congress. The King was however left at liberty to act as Himself and Council should think convenient, with regard to the Restitution of the Place. Its Resolutions.

This Accommodation could not want King of Mediators. In the Month of *December* 1698, the King of *Denmark* had wrote to the King of *Poland* to tender his good Offices. King of Denmark offers his Mediation.

1699.

ces, and to perswade him from carrying Things to Extremities: One Motive for those Offers was his being Guarantee of the Treaties of *Kesaw* and *Bydgost*, which the *Germans* call *Bromberg*. His Letter met with the better Reception, as an Invitation to Peace agreed entirely with the Interests and Views of the Court of *Warsaw*. That of *Vienna* foresaw the Employment they could not fail to have upon their Hands, in respect to the Succession of *Spain*, which made it necessary to put an immediate stop to a Quarrel, that must employ in a Civil War the Auxiliary Troops they rely'd on in case of Necessity. It was their Desire also to bring the Congress into *Silesia*, that *Breslaw* might have the Advantages usual to Places where such Assemblies are held.

As does  
the King  
of Sweden.

*Sweden* had not forgot the Advantages which the Title of Mediation had given them in the Congress of *Ryswick*, and was well pleased to have the same Office in this Accommodation. Baron *Welling* was arrived in *Poland* from *Charles XII.* to offer the Mediation of that Monarch. That Minister, who had afterwards a great Share in the Affairs of *Sweden*, was a Gentleman of *Finland*, a Man of Wit and Insinuation, but given to Pleasure, and almost always the Bubble of his Passions. I have already observ'd the prevalence of Gallantry in the Court of *Augustus*. *Welling* was of a Character

Character  
of his Minister.



racter to go no small Lengths that way. <sup>1699.</sup>  
 The King made him always of the Party in his Pleasures, and without letting him into his own Views, penetrated as far into him as he thought fit. His Reserve to him was the less obvious to suspicion, as upon indifferent Occasions he treated him with entire Openness of Heart, and the most insinuating Freedom of Behaviour.

It seemed the general Passion to prevent the bad Effects of a Rupture. The Marquis of *Ailleurs*, Envoy from *France* to *Berlin*, had Orders to offer the Elector his Master's Mediation. *Frederick* the Elector, was cautious of rejecting bluntly a Proposal he did not approve. His Answer was, He should have been fond of a Power to accept his most Christian Majesty's Offers, but as there had been no other Mediation than that of the Emperor, *Denmark* and the States General, in the Treaty of *Bydgost*, it was not consistent to add new Mediators in a Negotiation which turned upon the Execution of a Treaty, of which those three Powers were Guarantees. The same Reasons served also for *Sweden*. France also offers its Mediation

Things wore a new Face in *Lithuania* State of Affairs in Lithuania since *Sapieha's* Submission. Some Differences seemed to imply a new Confederacy, and several *Palatinates* of the Dutchy offered underhand to second the Great General, if he would attempt to revenge himself upon the Court and Nobility, who had degraded

1699.

him in some measure, by imposing upon him the Dismissal of his Army. But whether the Court had found Means to retain him in due respect, or that he did not believe the Party sufficiently firm, to take up Arms upon their Assurances, or in fine, whether both were his Motives, he did not give into the Measures suggested to him.

Nobility  
of the  
Dutchy's  
Zeal for  
the King.

The Nobility did indeed express their entire Satisfaction in the King, and promise an unalterable Adherence to him. Some few Days after the Treaty before-mentioned they had let him know, that he might assure himself of having an hundred thousand Hearts, and as many Sabres at his Service in *Lithuania*; and renewed the same Offers and Assurances by their Deputies, in an Address presented to him. The principal Points of which Address were; That the Nobility of the Great Dutchy of *Lithuania* were ready to sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes for the Service of the King, in gratitude for his Protection so highly granted, and in consideration of his vigorous Defence of their Privileges during the late Troubles: That they begged he would vouchsafe to honour *Lithuania* with his Presence once in three Years, and confirm the last Treaty of Accommodation with the opposite Party. They desired the Dutchy might be admitted to have a Secretary constantly resident at Court, to present their Remonstrances to his Majesty,

Majesty, and to sign all Dispatches relating to their Country, and that the Palatine of *Marienburg* might be commanded not to intermeddle in any Affairs regarding *Lithuania*. Their Gratitude was not confined to the King. In the same Address they begged leave to recommend in the approaching Diet, *Biechling* his Privy Counsellor, and *Flemming* General of the *Saxon* Troops, that they might both be naturalized in consideration of their Services in the late Accommodation. They also recommended the *Donati*, Families of *Volbinia* and *Samogitia*, who had expressed an extreme Fidelity to his Person. They concluded with demanding that the *Saxons* should not be quartered upon the Lands of the Church, nor upon those of the Crown, and that he should revoke the Grant of certain Demesns, whose Revenues, according to the fundamental Laws of the State, were inalienably appropriated to the Uses of the King's Household.

Thus did all Difficulties insensibly relax in favour of *Augustus*. Tho' he was convinced the mediating Powers would not suffer *Elbing* to be besieged, he did not omit his Preparations for War, in hopes they would serve him as a Pretext to augment the *German* Troops, whom repeated Addresses desired him to dismiss. He flattered himself also, that such Preparations would induce the

1699. *Electör of Brandenburg* not to insist too strictly upon his Right in all its Extent, but deceived himself in both his Calculations. The Primate at the Head of a great Number of Senators, was the first to oppose the Design the King seemed to have of retaking *Elbing* by force. He apprehended that Siege might draw on a War, for the Support of which such immense Sums must have been raised as the State was in no Condition to supply.

Primate  
and part  
of the Se-  
nate op-  
pose it.

*Electör of Brandenburg* was no sooner apprized that Troops were filing off to that side, than he kept himself more strictly than ever upon his guard. Whilst they were recruiting at *Dantzick*, where the *Saxon* Artillery was at length arrived, and a Camp was marked out at *Marienburg*, he was informed that a Conspiracy was discovered at *Elbing* to introduce the King's Troops there. This was sufficient Reason for taking the necessary Precautions to disconcert that Project. He therefore threw a much stronger Garrison into the Place than had been stipulated with the Burghers, and took from them the Posts where themselves or their Militia kept guard, as he did the Keys from the Magistrates, and waited the Event of the Diet, which was to assemble and resolve decisively upon the Affair.

King gives  
Audience  
to the

The *Czar* also seemed to interest himself in this Business; and his Resident told the King

King in an Audience, that his Master desired <sup>1695.</sup> his Majesty would make the Elector satisfaction, and use gentle Methods to induce <sup>Czar's Resident.</sup> him to resign the Place. The Motion of the *Russian* Troops about this time towards the Frontier of *Poland* had an ill Aspect in the Sense of many People. They put their March and the Resident's Expressions together, and concluded a little too hastily, that the *Czar* had joined Interest with the Elector, and intended to support him. This Opinion ought to have given the *Poles* Reason to desire the King would keep all his *German* Troops in *Poland*; but they looked upon this as no Necessity for their Stay, Less apprehensive of a *Russian* Army and the Elector's Preparations, than the danger to which the Liberty of their Country was obnoxious from the *Saxon* Troops, they were still obstinate in their Demand, that the whole foreign Army should be dismissed. The general Diet was however summoned for the 16th of *June*. The particular Diets preceding it, were almost unanimous in demanding that War should not be declared against the Elector, and that the Affair of *Elbing* should be amicably concluded by the Interposition of the Mediators; that the *Saxons* should quit the Kingdom and Great-Dutchy; and that the *Pacta Conventa* should be communicated to the General Diet.

1699. The Diet opened at *Warsaw* upon the Day appointed. The Bishop of *Poznan* celebrated the Mass of the Holy Ghost in the Presence of the King and Part of the Senate. After which the Nuncios repaired to their Chamber, where the Election of a Marshal was proposed. *Sawiski* Marshal of the preceding Diet still officiated in that Function according to Custom. As soon as he had demanded they would proceed to choose him a Successor, the Nuncios in a great Body declared, they would not consent to that Election till the *Saxon* Troops were dismissed, and the original *Pacta Conventa* laid before them.

Diet at  
*Warsaw*.

Election  
of a Mar-  
shal pro-  
posed.

Objections of the  
Nuncios.

The King's Answer to the first Demand, was, that he was resolved to perform his Promise; that part of the *Saxon* Troops were already sent away, and arrived upon the Frontiers of *Silesia*; that the others were upon their March, and that he would retain only a small Number about his Person. In regard to the *Pacta Conventa*, the King told the Deputies of the Diet, that the Original had been taken from the Palatine of *Marienburg*, with the Box in which it was kept. That Original was only an authentick Copy taken from the Notary's Entry, at whose House it was kept. The King authorised the Palatine of *Plosko*, as Starost of *Warsaw*, to order the Notary, whose Name was *Sobolewski*, to deliver another Copy immediately.

ately. *Sawiski* then renewed his Proposal to elect a Marshal; but with no more Success than the Day before. They refused to proceed to that Election till the *Saxon* Troops had entirely and effectually quitted the Kingdom. The Nuncio of *Cbelm* spoke upon the occasion, and insisted strongly upon the Support of their Liberties and the Execution of the Laws. He went so far as to say, that in *Poland* the King had no farther Right than to act as the Head of his fellow Citizens, and not as a Lord over his Vassals or Slaves; that the King had no Authority to keep the Nuncios and Senate besieged in a manner by his Troops; and that for his part he was resolved to maintain the Liberty of his Country, tho' at the hazard of his Life. The Nuncio of *Leneicia* moved, that the Marshal should renew his Instances to the King, which was resolved, and the Diet adjourned for two Days.

1699.

They insist obstinately on the Dismission of the *Saxon* Troops.

The 19th was passed in particular Assemblies, held by the Nuncios of some *Palatinates* among themselves, who endeavoured to find some Means to terminate amicably all Differences. In the General Assembly the 20th, *Sawiski* reported the King's last Answer. His Majesty, said he, has confirmed his Promise of sending back his *German* Troops, of which the greatest part have began their March. He then demanded that they would elect a Marshal.

Their

1699. Their Opinions differ'd, some pretended it was previously necessary that the Saxons should entirely quit the Kingdom. *Sawiski* gave them to understand, that the Election of a Marshal was an essential Preliminary; that the Assembly was not a regular Diet without it, and therefore that it ought to take place of all other Considerations; That at all Events such a Proceeding could not engage them to any Thing, as the Choice of that Officer could neither alter their Instructions in the least, nor take from them the Liberty of their Suffrages. These Reasons carried it, and would have removed the Obstacle, when the two *Polands* and the Dutchy began to debate for the Turn.

Primate  
arrives.

The Meetings of the 22d, 23d and 26th, were passed in Debates, which increased daily till the 29th when the Primate arrived at *Warsaw*. He made a splendid Entry, and the next Day had Audience of the King, at which all the Senators were present.

*Scucka*  
chose  
Marshal.

The 1st of July the Primate's Presence seemed to have restored the Assembly's Tranquillity. The Choice of Marshal which could not be concluded in ten sittings, was quietly resolved in less than two Hours, and fell upon *Scucka*, Referendary of the Crown, and one of the Nuncio's of Great Poland. Deputies were then appointed to notify



notify the Election to the King, and to <sup>1699.</sup> urge the immediate Dismission of the *Saxon* Troops. *Augustus* approved the Choice of the Diet, and answer'd in regard to the Troops, that great part of them had already left the Kingdom; That the rest should follow as soon as the Senate should declare it their unanimous Opinion: That he would hold a great Council of the Senate in two Days time, at which the Deputies might be present.

This Proposal was at first but indifferently received by the Nuncio's, who were <sup>King's Remonstrances to the Diet.</sup> obstinate in not entering upon Business till they were fully assured of the Departure of all the *Saxons*, except twelve hundred, which they agreed the King should retain for his Guard. *Augustus*, to cut short all future Cavil of the Nuncios, ordered the 7th, Remonstrances to be made in full Diet; that he was informed some ill inclined Persons imputed to him the Design of oppressing their Liberties by entertaining Foreign Troops, and that he found it his Obligation to protest against the false and scandalous Reports industriously dispersed upon that Subject. He declared at the same time, that to dispel such Apprehensions and remove all Scruples, he was resolved to send back his Troops into *Germany*; but that he could not do it 'till fifteen Days after the Close of the Diet, and

1699.

and then upon Condition sufficient Provision were made for the Safety of his Person.

The more moderate of the Nuncios did not find any Thing to object to this Conduct; and to give the King the Satisfaction he desired, an Act of Association was immediately prepared to confirm his Authority, and for the Safety of his Person. He ordered the *Paſſa Conventa* to be read to the Assembly, by which a particular Guard of fix thousand Men were granted him. The reading that Instrument had the expected Effect; their Heat abated: They expressed themselves in gentler Terms upon that Article, and Business began to proceed in a much better manner.

Gives Audience to the Nuncios.

Four Days after, the Nuncios had Audience of the King, who received them in the Audience-Chamber, magnificently adorn'd, upon a Throne of Crimson Velvet embroidered and fringed with Gold. Cardinal *Radziewski*, several other Prelates with many *Polish* and *German* Lords surrounded the Throne, taking place according to Rank. The Nuncios enter'd with the Marshal at their Head, who presented them to the King, and enlarged amply upon the Noble Birth, Fortitude, Courage and Fidelity of those Lords. He begg'd his Majesty would repose an entire Confidence in them, and give them a certain Proof

Proof of that Disposition in dismissing the *Saxons* to their own Country. The Chancellor of the Crown reply'd, in *Augustus's* Name, in such Terms as seem'd to satisfy the Nuncios. Upon which they all kissed the King's Hand, and withdrew. 1699.

The Diet continued their Deliberations with the utmost Application. It was to be feared, the Time prescrib'd by Custom for their Sitting would be too short, and the Assembly dissolve before Affairs could be concluded. The Discord, which had taken place at first, had cost them too much precious Time. It is an established Custom after the Senate and the Nuncio's have consulted separately to unite in one Body, and resume in the King's Presence such Resolutions as have been made. It is then, the Collective Majesty of the State gives the force of Law to what has been judg'd necessary to be instituted, without which Diets are of no effect. This, which begun under the most unfavourable Augury of a general Discord between its Head and Members, had the most happy Conclusion possible. Good Effect of the Diet.

Its Success was in a great Measure owing to *Augustus's* Moderation. He disarm'd by his Patience and Complacency the petulant and seditious Warmth of the Majority of the Nuncios, who came to the Diet with no other Intention than to join in disconcerting his Measures. He was present in King's wife Conduct.  
Person.

1699.

Person the seven last Days of their Sitting, and his Address was more than once of Service to him, in hastening the Conclusion of the Diet. A Subject of Dispute no sooner arose, than he found a Remedy for it, and the last Sitting he continued twenty Hours upon the Throne, to induce the Members of the Diet by his Example to conclude the great Affairs which had called them together.

Marshall's  
Prudence.

The Marshall *Soucha's* Prudence did not a little promote the same purpose. He used the Authority his Office gave him, in retaining the Nuncios within the bounds of a wise and sober Liberty. And when one of them began to grow impetuous and disrespectful against the Court, he ordered him Silence; and what was more surprizing, his Behaviour was generally approved and commended by the rest of the Nuncios. He established a Spirit of Tranquillity in the Assembly, which endeavour'd with the utmost Application to retrieve the Time unhappily lost. They went farther. By a Condescension, of which there were few Instances, the Diet agreed to prolong its Sitting two Days beyond the limited Time, and made so good Use of them as to conclude the principal Affairs that were the Intention of their meeting. Their chief Regulations were as follow.

They

They confirmed by unanimous Consent <sup>1699.</sup> the Act projected for the Safety and Authority of the King, and added a Clause to <sup>Result of</sup> the Diet condemn in the most rigorous Punishments whoever should attempt upon his Person or Dignity, or should be so rash to withdraw from their Obedience in what manner soever. It was decreed that all *Saxon* Domesticks and other Strangers then in *Poland* and dependant upon the King's Court, should continue therein as before: That his Majesty should always retain in the Kingdom six Ministers or Counsellors of State for the Affairs of *Saxony*: But *Augustus*, to remove all Occasions of Exception, declared he would content himself with only two. In regard to Troops it was resolved his Majesty, besides the two Regiments of Foot of his own and the Queen's, should retain twelve hundred Horse, under the Name of Great Musqueteers and Trainbands; That a like Number of *Saxon* Troops should remain in *Lithuania*; the whole at the Republick's Expence. For the *Polsk* Troops it was decreed, they should be paid two Years Arrears, and the King was authorised to put them into a better Condition, and to pay them in such Manner as he should judge most convenient. As Time would not admit an Examination into particular Affairs, the Discussion of  
them

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them was referred to the next General Diet.

Primate  
signs the  
Act of E-  
lection.

King dis-  
poses of  
Offices  
and Bi-  
shopricks.

Turks de-  
lay the  
Surrendry  
of *Kami-  
nieck*.

*Augustus*; the first Day the Assembly united, had the Pleasure to see the Primate, and the Great Chamberlain *Bielinski* sign the Act of Election, and that Form which was still wanting to all that had been done, concluded to establish him upon the Throne. Towards the End of the Diet he disposed of several of the great Offices. Upon Prince *Sapieha*, he conferred that of Grand Marshal of *Lituania*, whose Father had a long time enjoyed the same Employment. Prince *Wienowski* he made Marshal of the Court, Prince *Radziwil* Great Chancellor of *Lituania*, and *Scucka* Referendary of the Crown and Marshal of this Diet, Vice-Chancellor of that Dutchy, in the room of the Prince of *Radziwil*. The Bishop of *Cujavia*, who had render'd him such great Services, he translated to *Cracow* which was become vacant; and the Bishoprick of *Cujavia*, void by this Promotion, was given to Count *Denhof* Bishop of *Przmilia*. That Lord who was Great Chancellor of *Poland* was succeeded in that Office by Count *Tarlo*, who was before only Vice-Chancellor.

The Restitution of *Kamienieck*, which was to have been made according to the Treaty immediately after its Ratification, was deferr'd notwithstanding upon several Pretences. The Ministers of the Porte could not quit a place of that Importance with-

out

out Regret. Mortified with not having it in their Power to dispense with that Agreement, they try'd all plausible Means to elude its Execution. That Article was so directly opposite to their Politicks, that they thought it a kind of Sacrilege to perform it. The Doctors of their Law denounced a mortal Curse upon the Viziers who had given up so considerable a Point: But had their Mouths stop't with this Answer; Give us sufficient Forces, said they, and We'll maintain the Law, which if You cannot supply, do not reproach us with using the only Expedient which was left to save the Empire from total Destruction.

When the Time for performing the Conditions of the Treaty arrived, they omitted nothing to delay it. At first the *Seraskian* had not received the necessary Orders, and then the Harvest they had sown, must be first brought in. They afterwards referred the Restitution till the Starost of *Chehn* Envoy Extraordinary from the Republick to the Port, should have Audience of the Grand Seignior. After which Audience, they found other Pretences for their Delay. Whilst the King and Republick were at variance, the *Turks* flatter'd themselves they might evade the Treaty. They had at least one Reason to object against evacuating that Fortress when they were summoned:

1699. moned: We have engaged, said they, to restore the Place to the King and Republick of *Poland*. But that Subterfuge was removed by their Uniting, and an Order presented them under the Hands of the King, the Primate and the Heads of the Republick.

It is Surrendered at last.

The Bassa who commanded there, being no longer able to refuse, surrendered at last one Gate of the City to the *Polish* Commissaries, with promise to abandon it intirely in seven or eight Days. To engage him to keep his Word, a magnificent Present was promised him. That kind of Argument which seldom fails of Success, had its effect, and the *Polish* Troops took intire Possession of the Place. The next Day the Suffragan Bishop of *Chelm* consecrated the Parish Churches, and had the Bodies of the *Turks* buried in them, removed to the *Tubas*, Places destined for the Interment of Infidels. Three Days were employed in purifying those Temples, and the 25th the first Mass was celebrated in the Church of the Trinity, which was followed by the *Te Deum*, and the Discharge of the Cannon and small Arms. The Bassa assured the *Polish* General who succeeded him in the Government of the Place, that he had rather have died in the Defence of it, than have resigned it voluntarily in that Manner.

To



To return to *Warsaw*; the King was preparing to set out for his *German* Dominions where his Presence was necessary. The Diet was dissolved, and the greatest part of the Nuncios returned to their Provinces. The Senate assembled and it was expected would begin with the Regulation of the Affairs, referred by the Diet to their Decision. But their first Application was to deliberate upon the King's Journey. That Prince had not thought fit to mention it to the Diet, apprehending it might sup-  
 1699  
 The King prepares for Saxony.  
 ply matter for Controversy, take up too much Time to no purpose, and prevent the good Effects of so much Trouble. This made him content himself with signifying his Resolution to the Senate. The Event shewed they did not consider it in the same light with himself, but as an Affair of the greatest Importance.

The Senate was divided in Opinion: Some, more attach'd to the publick Utility than the King's Person, represented, that he could not absent himself at a Time, when his Presence was necessary to the execution of the Diet's Resolutions, to the reparation of Breaches occasioned by the long Disorders, and to restore the Tranquillity of the Republick. Others added, that the *Saxon* Troops were still in *Poland*, where if the King left them, they could have no recourse to him for the Discharge

The Senate considers that Journey.

1699.

of his Royal Word. The opposite Party reply'd; this Journey was essential to the King for two Reasons of equal Importance, one, that he might drink the Waters of *Toplitz*, the other, that he might make a short Residence in his *German* Estates, to which his paternal Cares were as much due as to his Kingdom. The King's health, said they, which ought to be dear to every good Patriot, is concerned in it. The Good of the Republick depends upon the King's Preservation, and it would be an ill Method of re-establishing the Affairs of the Kingdom, to oppose the perfect Well-doing of Him who is its head. It would be a great hardship upon a Monarch to be denied the Relief the lowest Particular has a Right to use whenever he pleases. At that Rate, added they, the King must dearly buy a Crown, if he must wear it only by the Forfeiture of his natural Right: And as he has not renounced his Hereditary Estates, it is his duty to visit and console a People, who are sufficiently Sufferers by not having him always amongst them. They concluded with demonstrating his Majesty might very well absent himself for some Months without any Injury to the Government, since whilst the Senate acted by his Authority, or to use the Expression under his Crown, nothing would be wanting

ing to the Administration of Affairs with the same Prudence and Vigour. <sup>1699</sup>

The Senate met from the 12th to the 15th of *August*, and presented the Result of their Conferences to the King, who approved the twelve principal Articles, of which these are the most important: That before his Departure the King should send circular Letters into all the *Palatinates*, to signify the Occasions of his Journey: That the two Grand Marshals should quarter the Army as they should think proper: That the General of Great *Poland* appointed for the Embassy of *Constantinople*, should receive fifty thousand Crowns from the Treasury, and his Secretary three thousand; That two thousand Florins should be given the Minister from the King and the Republick to *Crim Tartary*, with the Present of ten thousand Ducats promised to the Cham of *Little Tartary* by the Treaty of *Carlowitz*: That the Treasurers should continue to collect the publick Revenues: That the Secretaries of the Ambassadors Mediators, or those who might arrive from *Adrianople* with Commissions, should be immediately dispatch'd, and each of them allowed twelve hundred Crowns for the Expence of their Journey: That each of the sixteen Deputies from the Army should be paid a Gratification of two thousand Florins: That the Settling of the Ar-

Senate's  
Resolutions.

1699.

rears due to the Great Generals, should be referr'd to the first General Diet: That a Sum of an hundred thousand Florins should be apply'd in purchasing the necessary Provisions for the Frontier Places; and that the King should appoint Commissioners to adjust amicably the Affair of *Elbing*.

Council of  
Re. ency  
establish-  
ed.

Commis-  
sioners  
appointed.

It now only remained for *Augustus* to establish a Council of Regency, for the Government of the Kingdom till his return. The Primate, assisted by a certain Number of the Senators and Great Officers of the Kingdom and Dutchy, was intrusted with the Royal Authority, and empowered by the King, to concert with his Collegues and the Ministers of the Elector, an Accommodation equally desired by each Party. The King appointed for his Commissioners, the Bishop of *Cujavia*, the Palatine of *Marienburg* and two *Castelians*, and gave a gracious Audience to *Werner* Resident of *Brandenburgh*, which Minister was returned to *Warsaw* some time before. A Memorial had indeed been delivered to him, by which it appeared *Poland* had Pretensions upon *Brandenburgh*, the Discharge of which the Republick had as just a Right to claim, as the Elector of his Demand. But this Difficulty was not so much an Art to evade the Accommodation and amuse the Carpet, as an honourable  
Pretext

Pretext for opening the Conferences, and to draw on the Negotiation. The Elector on his part gave *Galeski* Minister of *Poland* a favourable Reception. Stop was put to the March of Troops on both Sides, and to the Preparations that had alarmed all the neighbouring States. 1699.

The King having made these Dispositions, and provided for the Tranquillity of the Kingdom in his Absence, left *Warsaw* the 25th of *August* with a very small Train, lodged the next Day at *Lowitz* with the Primate, who went thither to receive him, and arrived at *Dresden* the 5th of *September*. King sets out for Saxony.

The Affair of *Elbing* was not hitherto much advanced. The Republick had already agreed to pay the Elector three hundred thousand Crowns, who demanded four hundred thousand, and would not quit the Town without sufficient Security for the Payment of that Sum. It was proposed to give him in pledge the Towns of *Putzigh*, *Marienwerder*, and *Polonga*; but that Scheme was rejected by the Senate. Part of the Crown-Jewels were also offered the Elector who refused to take them, giving for his Reason, that such a Pledge would be of no Use to him, as he could apply it to no Occasion whilst in his keeping. He would perhaps have been better satisfied with a Proposal made by some People,

1699. which was to cancel the Debt, by consenting that *Polish* Commissaries should not be sent for the future into *Prussia* in the Elector's Possession, to receive Homage for it from his Successors, and that both he and they should be released from the Obligation of acknowledging the Sovereignty of *Poland*, and from the Aid of fifteen hundred Men in case of its being attacked by a foreign Power. It was not thought proper to sacrifice Rights of that Value for such a Sum.

The Negotiation was protracted till Winter, and seemed sometimes on so ill a Foot as to give no Reason to expect its Issue would be happy. The Baron *Overbeck* was however come to *Warsaw*, to act in quality of Envoy in concert with the Resident *Werner*. He persisted in the Demand, and declared to the Primate, the Elector would not recede from his Claim of 400000 Crowns and the Security. But a Journey he made to *Berlin* inclined that Court to be less averse to the Proposals offered. At his return Things had a different Aspect: That Minister with the Resident, were admitted the 1<sup>th</sup> of *December* into the Assembly of the Senate, where they were received with great marks of Esteem and Friendship. They there declared the Elector agreed to take the 300000 Crowns, and would accept the Jewels of the

the Crown as Security for the payment <sup>1699.</sup>  
of that Sum.

A Treaty was accordingly prepared and signed the next Day, which consisted of nine Articles. The first contains a reciprocal Promise of being void of all Resentment, not only upon account of the Seizure of *Elbing*, but of all things said, wrote, and published upon that occasion; to re-establish between the contracting Powers a sincere Friendship, an inviolable Union, and a perpetual Alliance, according to ancient and modern Treaties, that at *Velaw* expressly mentioned. The second Article fixes the Evacuation of *Elbing* for the first of *February* 1700, without altering the ancient Fortifications in any manner. Thirdly, the Elector promises to leave all things there as he found them, and that nothing more should be carried from thence, than had been taken away since his Possession of the Place. In the fourth place, the King and Republick of *Poland* promised faithfully to pay the Elector in the City of *Warsaw*, three Months after the next General Diet of the Kingdom should be held, the Sum of 300000 Rixdollars; and for his better Security to deliver, the Day before the Evacuation of *Elbing*, into the Hands of the Elector or his Commissioners, the Crown-Jewels; of which an Inventory signed and sealed should be taken, to ascertain their being returned in the same kind

~~1697~~ kind and condition, when the Payment should be made according to Agreement. The fifth Article permits the Elector, in default of Payment, not only to retain the Jewels so engaged, but further to repossess himself of *Elbing* and its Demesns, till the entire discharge of his Demand. The four other Articles relate to some slight Differences which this Treaty gave occasion to regulate.

Place sur-  
rendered  
to the  
Poles.

At the Day fixed the Troops of *Brandenburg* quitted *Elbing* by Torch-light in the Evening. The Jewels had been delivered to the Elector's Commissioners, and the next Day those of *Poland* ordered *Te Deum* to be sung in the principal Church, and appointed the Magistracy to attend them the Day following. They reproached them with baseness, in opening the Gates of their City to the Elector's Troops, and remonstrated the consequential Penalties incurred by that Fault, and the Chastisement they merited, if the King and Republick, recalling their parental Tenderness for the City of *Elbing*, had not ordered them to be treated with Lenity. The Magistrates pleaded several Reasons in their Justification, and the Commissioners objected others, to convince them they deserved to lose their Privileges; of which it was not however intended to deprive them, but rather to prepare them to receive the Conditions, under which



which they were to hold them for the future, as an Instance of Grace and Favour. <sup>1699</sup>  
 They were as follow:

That when the Jewels of the Crown were redeemed, the City of *Elbing* should furnish 50000 Crowns as their Proportion: That instead of 200 Soldiers, usually retained to guard the Posts, they should keep 300 Foot and thirty Horse, which in case of danger should be augmented to 2000 effective Men; That an experienced Officer should be retained in quality of Commandant, who should take an Oath of suitable extent, the Form to be prescribed by the Commissioners: That besides the usual Oath, the President of the Council should be obliged to swear he would never surrender the Town to any Besieger, till reduced to the last Extremity; and that some new Privileges, specified by the Treaty, should be granted the Roman Catholicks and their Church. Such was the Conclusion of an Affair, in which *Augustus* would have hearkened only to his Courage, and the first Impressions the Elector's Enterprize had given him, if the *Polish* Nation would have seconded him; but the Divisions of the Kingdom prevented. Upon cool Reflexion on every thing, he made the best Choice in his Power; and the Republick having expressed their Desire, that a Quarrel of so long Duration should be terminated

1699. ed by a Treaty, he left the whole Care and Management of it to themselves, preserving the Elector's Friendship, which was necessary to the Execution of the Designs he had formed.

Troubles  
in *Holstein*.

A Storm arose on the side of *Holstein*. The *Swedish* and *Danish* Troops were assembled there, and only the badness of the Season prevented their coming to Action. The Princes of the *North*, most of them young and fond of Glory, no sooner saw the Appearances of a Rupture than they endeavoured to have their share in the Sport. But it will be necessary to trace the Origin of this War, the Source of so many great Events and strange Revolutions.

1699.

The  
Duchy by  
whom  
possessed,  
and in  
what  
Right.

The Duchies of *Holstein-Gottorp* and *Sleswick*, in virtue of family Treaties, from the Reign of *Christiern III*, were held in common by the Kings of *Denmark* and the Dukes of *Holstein-Gottorp*. The King of *Denmark* could make no Innovations there without the Duke, nor the Duke without the King. This Union had continued down to *Christian Albert* Duke of *Holstein-Gottorp*, to whom the Attempt to act in contradiction to Treaty, had cost his Sovereignty. The Treaty of *Altena* had restored him to his Dominions. Prince *Frederick* his eldest Son, who succeeded him in 1695, thought of nothing but Independence, and the Abolition of the Government

vernment in common, established by the family Agreement. In this View he had made a strict Alliance with Sweden, augmented his Troops, taken foreign Soldiers into his Service, and began to fortify several Places; which might be taken as so many Innovations.

Frederick IV, King of Denmark, perceiving the Duke's ill Design in the irregularity of his Proceedings, took Measures to prevent their Effect. He had already assembled his Troops in *Halstein*, and summoned the Duke to demolish the Forts he had raised, threatening in case of refusal, to raze them with his own Troops.

The Powers, Guarantees of the Treaty of *Altena*, had suspended hitherto the Rupture by their Negotiations: But they could come to no Agreement among themselves. *England*, *Holland*, and the Duke of *Zell*, threatened to assist the Duke of *Halstein*, in case the King of *Denmark* should attack his Forts. The Ministers of the Emperor and the Elector of *Brandenburg* demanded that the *Swedish* Troops should retire from *Halstein*, and that the King of *Denmark* should engage his Troops should not move. The King of *Sweden*, a young Prince, impatient to signalize his Valour, desired to renounce the Character of Mediator, that he might give the Duke all the Assistance a Brother-in-law and Ally could expect. The King

1600.  
*Augustus's*  
 offer to  
 the King  
 of *Den-*  
*mark.*

His Mo-  
 tives for  
 them.

Elector of  
*Branden-*  
*burgh* re-  
 fuses him  
 Passage.

of *Poland*, who was also a Mediator, advised the King of *Denmark* to support his Right by Arms, as nothing could be obtained by Treaty, and offered to assist him with 8000 Men, in pursuance of the Alliance between them.

That Prince had his Reasons for making these Offers. He held thereby the Balance between the two Northern Kings, performed his Engagements, and had the Advantage of an Opportunity to employ his Troops. There was still a difficulty, which was to get passage thro' the Elector of *Brandenburg's* Lands. *Augustus* sent General *Flemming* to demand it, as the King of *Denmark* did Count *Revantlau* Junior. The two Ministers miscarry'd in their Com-

missions. The Court of *Berlin* declared that, as War had not been proclaimed against the King of *Denmark*, they believed it incumbent on them to prevent the Rupture, rather than promote it by granting the Passage demanded: That they could not grant such Passage to Auxiliary Troops, without exposing the Circle of Lower *Saxony* to the danger of becoming the Scene of War, which would be contrary to the *Candirectorium*, the principal Obligations of which were to preserve the Peace of the Circle, and to act nothing without the Participation of the other Directors, and in fine as the Mediators were treating  
 at

Book III. under AUGUSTUS II.

287

at *Hamburg* upon the Satisfaction demanded by the King of *Denmark*, it was necessary to wait the Result of those Conferences.

1699.

There was something specious in this Answer, but at bottom its Partiality was evident. It supposes the King of *Denmark* not to be attacked; as if the Duke of *Holstein's* Innovations, supported by the Forces of *Sweden*, were not a formal Aggression, in direct Violation of Treaties, upon the Faith of which the Court of *Copenhagen* had a Right to insist.

The Prince's Partiality.

The *Poles* however could not endure the Continuance of the *Saxons* upon their Lands. They daily killed some of them, and the Nobility of the Provinces where they were quartered, threatened from time to time to mount on horseback and drive them out of *Poland*. From the Conclusion of their Divisions, those Troops had wandered from Province to Province, and changed their Quarters continually, to avoid the Effects of the Discontent and Jealousy of the *Poles*. The King, who had been obliged to go to *Dresden*, was not in a Condition to remedy those Evils at that distance, which was all he could have hoped had he been present. The Primate in vain solicited his Return to *Warsaw*: His Presence was as necessary at *Dresden*, where the States of the Electorate were assembled.

Poles Assertion to the Saxons.

He

1699.

He demanded from them an extraordinary Subsidy, and that they would put the Militia into a Condition to march upon the first Orders, without telling them the use he intended to make of them. He had no reason to repent his not having complied with the Primate's Sollicitation. The States of *Saxony* agreed to both his Demands, granting for the Subsidy a Million of *German Florins*.

The  
Courts of  
*Europe* en-  
deavour to  
prevent  
the War.

During this time the principal Courts of *Europe* emulated each other, in their Endeavours to prevent the Flame ready to break out in the *North*. The Emperor among others earnestly solicited the King of *Poland* not to assist *Denmark* against *Sweden*, but without effect. *Augustus* had a double Advantage in a different Conduct. On the one hand he had a Pretence to retain his *Saxon* Troops, of which the Republick importuned him to rid the Kingdom. On the other, he had an occasion to employ them without their being of any Expence to the *Poles*. This Design was the more easy to be executed, as the Elector of *Brandenburgh* had promised to oppose no longer the Passage of his Troops. But the Storm broke out where it was least expected. At a time when all the World expected to see the *Saxon* Troops march to the Assistance of *Denmark*, and carry Terror into *Holstein*, they turned suddenly upon *Livonia*,

Inruption  
of the Sax-  
ons into  
*Livonia*.

*nia*, entered that Province with Fire and Sword, carried the Fort of *Koher* by Storm, and prepared to form the Blockade of *Riga*. 1699.

That Irruption was the more surprising <sup>Surprise</sup> as it could not be imagined the Effect of <sup>caused by</sup> it. *Augustus's* Zeal for an Ally, who had hitherto been only threatened, and as *Sweden* promised not to attack him, if he did not begin with the Duke of *Holstein*. Besides which there had, not been any previous Declaration of War. But it was reported soon after, as the Effect of that celebrated Captain of the *Livonian* Nobility, *Patkul's* Advice, who had the Zeal to sacrifice himself in defence of the Privileges of his Country. He had made his Escape out of Prison from *Stockholm*, where *Charles XI.* had condemned him to have his Hand cut off, with the loss of Honour, Life, and Fortune; and carried into *Poland* all the Resentment such a Sentence could inspire in a Man convinced of his Innocence. He represented to the King of *Poland* the Facility of conquering a Country, where the Nobility and common People groaned equally under the Burden of tyrannick Power.

However, as it was consistent to give some Colour of Justice to an Enterprize of that nature, instead of a Manifesto, and to supply in some manner a Declaration of War

U

which

1699.  
*Flemming*  
 publishes  
 a Declara-  
 tion.

which had been omitted, *Flemming* General of the *Saxons*, justified his Hostilities by a Declaration, published after his entering *Livonia*. He said in his Master's Name, That the Threats of *Sweden*, and the Conduct of those who commanded in *Livonia*, not leaving room to doubt but the *Swedes* intended to attack the *Saxon* Troops, upon the Arrival of the Reinforcements they expected, he thought himself obliged, in prevention of such Designs, to enter *Livonia*, and to secure himself of the best Posts he could to disconcert their Enterprizes. He offered the Nobles, Burghers, and Peasants, his Safeguards, that they might not suffer any damage from his Troops, and protested that all who should disobey his Orders, should be considered as Rebels to the King, and punished with death.

Which has  
 no Effect.

That General's Declaration did not meet with the Credulity from the Publick, to convince them the King of *Poland's* Intention was only to prevent the Dangers which threatened him. It was judged he only took time by the Forelock, and seized the Opportunity of making a Conquest which had so often escaped his Predecessors. He was a little too hasty. It was not yet time to execute a Project of that Importance. He had flattered himself, the *Livonian* Nobility would have received his General with open Arms upon his first Appearance.

*Flem-*



*Flemming* made the finest Professions in vain; no body came near him; and detached to as little purpose fifty Horse, with Orders to ride thro' the Country, and offer War or Peace every where. These Offers were not at all regarded, the People continuing firm to their Duty; less perhaps from their Attachment to a Sovereign, who had deprived them of their Privileges, and part of their Fortunes, than from the Fear their Rebellion should one Day draw upon them a more severe Treatment. There were some Gentlemen who had Resolution enough to mount on horseback, and endeavour to persuade their Countrymen to persist in the Interest of *Sweden*.

*Flemming* was not more successful at *Riga*. He thought his Appearance before that Place would suffice to make them open their Gates to him, and accordingly approached and summoned them to surrender; but was soon apprized the Garrison was resolved to hold out to the last Extremity. As he was in want of all Necessaries for forming a Siege, he put himself at the head of 2000 Horse, and made a second Attempt to engage the Nobility to change their Master. In a Progress of six Days he gained only six Horsemen to his Party, with a Booty of three hundred Oxen and some Carriages.

*Flemming*  
summons  
*Riga*.

1700.  
 Which  
 prepares  
 for a vigo-  
 rous De-  
 fence.

General *Dahlberg*, who commanded in the place, took the advantage of this Delay, to put himself into a condition of defence. He was of a great age, and chose an experienced Colonel for his Assistant, with whom he was contented to share the Glory of the Siege. Lest the Fortrefs of *Dunamunder* should be carried, as that of *Kober* had been, he put a strong Garrison into it. He made also a great Fire with his Artillery, and even ordered a Sally; but neither with any considerable Advantage. His Conduct in setting the Suburb on fire was more successful; at least *Flemming* did not seem to like him the better for it, as may be judged from his Letter of the 26th of *February*. It contained only some dry Pleasantries, and an affected Compassion for the Loss of so many People, who had suffered in the burning of the Suburb. *Dahlberg* answered it in the most sensible manner. Your Letter, said he, expresses great Compassion for the Suburb that was burnt; but as there was nothing done on that occasion, not authorised by the Rights of War, and which has not been the Practice in all Places upon like occasions, I shall know how to justify my Conduct in proper time and place.

*Flem-  
 ming's Er-  
 rors.*

Whatever face *Flemming* put upon it, he perceived the Error of entering *Livonia* in the midst of Winter, a Season so improper for the necessary Operations of a Siege.  
 He

He had besides neglected to provide great Artillery, expecting the Keeper of the Stores at *Birsén* would have supplied that want. This Article gave him some difficulty; the Storekeeper refusing to obey the King's Order without the Great General's Consent. However, reflecting upon the Consequences which might attend his Refusal, and that the ill Success of an Enterprize, advantageous to the Republick, might be imputed to him, he sent the Cannon demanded to the Camp. *Flemming* then finding himself in condition to act effectively, resolved to reduce the City of *Riga* in earnest. His Intention was not to open Trenches, nor attack it in the usual Form: He thought to make himself Master of the Place by Bombardment; and the same Person who had expressed so much Compassion for the burning of the Suburb, was upon the point of reducing the City to Ashes, if Dispatches from the King, which arrived at that time, had not put a stop to his Measures. That Prince's Orders to his General were not to bombard the Place 'till he had tried all other Methods, which made it necessary to change the Battery; and *Flemming* resolved to attack *Dunamunder*.

The Name alone of that Fort implies its <sup>Fort of</sup> Importance. It commands the Mouth of <sup>Duna</sup> the River, and might cover Relief intended <sup>munder</sup> invested, for the City. The 12th of *March Flem-*  
*ming*

1700. *ming* sent 500 Horse, and as many Dragoons to invest it, who were immediately followed by 1200 Foot. The 18th 4000 Men more approached the Fort, and began to canonade it. In consequence of which at two in the morning, General *Carlowitz* at the head of 1500 Men gave the Assault. The *Saxons* mounted the Breach with the utmost fury, and made good by their Intrepidity the Reputation their Valour had acquired: But they had to do with a good Garrison who expected them with undaunted Resolution. A great Fire ensued on each side. But the Cannon of the Fort decided it for that Day, and the *Saxons* were repulsed with the Loss of General *Carlowitz*, and about 600 Men.

And assaulted.

Preparations for a second Assault. This ill Success did not discourage *Flem-  
ming*. Confident from the Valour of his Troops, and resolved not to give the besieged the least Respite, he detached 2000 Men the next Night, who advanced under the Cannon of the Fort with an undaunted Air, and in a disposition to renew the Assault. A Sight of that kind put the Commandant *Budberg* upon considering. He had lost his best Soldiers in the former Attack, and the greatest part of those who remained were Peasants forced into the Service, and as little qualified in Inclination as Discipline for a good Defence. He was afraid of being stormed by Troops, who discovered a Resolution to conquer or perish, and desired to capi-

capitulate, which was granted upon Con-  
 ditions as honourable as he could expect.

1700.

Fort capi-  
tulates.

All the World believed the taking this  
 Fort would engage *Flemming* to push the  
 Siege of *Riga* more vigorously, as every  
 thing conspired to persuade him. The *Sax-  
 ons* had found a Reinforcement of Artillery  
 at *Dunamunder*, new Troops were arrived,  
 and good Policy required they should push  
 the Enemy before they were relieved. They  
 were however contented with blocking up  
 the Place more closely, and to summon the  
 Governor and threaten the Inhabitants.  
 The Governor having answered with the  
 Assurance natural to true Courage, that he  
 had wherewithal to defend himself, and  
 knew his Duty; *Flemming* represented he  
 was going to expose the City to the greatest  
 Unhappiness, and would be accountable for  
 all the ill Consequences a Place must expect  
 to suffer, which made a rash Resistance.  
 His Design was to terrify the Inhabitants,  
 make them revolt against the Governor,  
 save Expences, and spare his Soldiers.

*Riga*  
blockaded  
and sum-  
moned  
again.

The King was upon his return to *Warsaw*, and talked in the same Strain with his  
 General. In a Manifesto, published by his  
 Order, he offered his Protection to those  
 who would throw off the *Swedish* Yoke;  
 he granted to the Inhabitants of all Towns  
 and to the *English* and *Hollanders*, who  
 traded with them, the Liberty of continu-

King of  
*Poland's*  
Manifesto.

1700.

ing there in safety, and recommended to his General to be particularly careful in the preservation of Places, and above all of *Riga*, unless the Obstinacy of the Inhabitants should render them unworthy of such Favour: In which case he threaten'd to treat them as Enemies, who might impute their Ruin to themselves, discharged him from answering it before God, and acquitted him from all Reproach before Man.

Who orders the Envoy of Sweden to quit Poland.

Till then the Envoy of *Sweden* had continued at *Warsaw*. Some Days after the King's Arrival, he had orders to depart the Dominions of the Republick. He drew that Affront upon himself, by having insinuated to several of the Senators, that the Expedition of *Livonia* concealed something of more dangerous tendency to the *Poles* than the *Swedes*. He had endeavoured to persuade them, that that Prince had Absolute Power in view, and advised them to put a stop to his Measures, and to suspect his whole Conduct. *Augustus* was apprehensive such Language might make impressions upon a People, fond of their Liberty to Idolatry, and induce them to prevent his Design of engaging the Republick to break with *Sweden*.

This was no easy matter to effect. *Lithuania* indeed approved the Rupture, but the greater Part of the *Polish* Grandees were averse to it; so that *Augustus* was not  
in

in haste to assemble a General Diet; tho' <sup>1700.</sup> very earnestly solicited to that purpose. He apprehended their Resolutions, and was better pleased with assembling a Great Council, <sup>King calls a great Council,</sup> from which he flattered himself he should find less Opposition. He was however very near the Mortification of seeing his Project come to nothing. Of the Members who were to compose that Assembly, some excused themselves, and others came to *Warsaw* not without Reluctance; the Assembly met notwithstanding the 25th of *May*, and there seemed a sufficient Appearance of Lords to deliberate and take Resolutions.

The *Livonian* Expedition was the first <sup>His Proposals to it,</sup> and indeed only Affair taken into Consideration. The King proposed, that Commissioners should be appointed to consider the Demands which the *Danish* Envoy had to make, and to answer them in the Name of the Republick; and declared afterwards, that as the Governor of *Livonia* had insulted the *Saxon* Troops employed in fortifying the Gate of *Polangen*, he thought it his duty to revenge that Affront. "The Injury, continued he, regards the *Polish* Nation as well as me. I had no other view in fortifying that Gate than its particular Service: The Republick is therefore obliged to concur in my Revenge, and can be the less dispensed from assisting me in the Enterprize, as the Advantage will be

1700. " be their own. In doing so it will recover one of its Domains, and get rid of a Neighbour who at best can only give it Umbrage and disturb its Tranquillity." He concluded with saying, the calling of the Diet was only deferr'd upon account of the Divisions which took place in the several Tribunals: That if a Diet should be judg'd necessary, he was ready to agree upon the proper Time for calling it, in order to their taking a final Resolution in regard to the Conquest of *Livonia*; under the Engagement of his Royal Word to restore that Province to *Poland*, as soon as it should be in his Possession.

Without  
Success.

As specious as these Representations were, they did not make much Impression. The Majority of the Assembly would not explain themselves. They concluded, as this Affair affected all Orders of the Kingdom, the Republick only had a Right to decide it, and that it was necessary to summon a General Diet as soon as possible. Others maintained, that as War had not yet been declared between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, and their Difference was still before the Mediators, it was not consistent with the Generosity of the Republick to determine a Rupture, by exasperating either of those Powers; nor with its Interest to open a War which might be attended with unhappy Consequences to itself. They added that the Affront



front committed by the Governor of *Lithuania*, regarded solely the *Saxons* and reflected but obliquely upon the King of *Poland*; that it was the Elector of *Saxony's* Business to avenge that Insult; and that the *Poles* ought not to hazard inconsistently the Peace they enjoy'd. Besides, continued they, the Fault of the Governor of a Province is no Reason that two States should come to a Rupture. Is it not more expedient to demand Justice from his Master, after whose Refusal it were time enough for taking violent Measures? As for the Pretext for deferring the holding of a Diet, it was the more frivolous in their Acceptation, as nothing was less common in *Poland* than the Agreement of all the Tribunals. Some of the Senators were embarrassed upon another Account. They were willing to comply with the King, but conscious of the ill State of the Republick's Affairs, unprovided as well of Troops as Money, they distinguish'd the danger of having a King at the head of an Army, in the midst of a Commonwealth whose Forces were exhausted.

*Augustus* easily perceived the Republick would not consent to the War, and referred the Diet so much solicited to the end of *December*, but persevered no less in the Execution of his Designs. He declared to the Senate, that independently of the Opposition of the Great Council, he was determined

*Augustus's*  
Resolutions.

1700.

mined to continue the War with *Sweden*, and to execute the ancient Treaty of Alliance between *Poland* and *Denmark*, ratified by the Republick in 1658. That Prince was the more confirmed in his Resolution, as a good Number of the Senators were in his Party; among which Number he might reckon upon the Primate, who observing the Republick's Advantage in seizing a Province so much to its Convenience, judged it not unreasonable to overlook some Irregularities. What was more particular in this Affair, was the Bishop of *Cujavia*'s being one of the strongest in the Opposition to the King's Designs. He had refused to be present at the Great Council, and did not stop there. He wrote to that Prince, and declared plainly, that he could not make War upon the King of *Sweden* without invading the Rights of the Republick.

Efforts of  
the French  
Ambassa-  
dor to in-  
cline him  
to Peace.

*France* was not wanting in its Endeavours for the Repose of *Sweden*. The Ambassador did his utmost to inspire *Augustus* with thoughts of Peace, and to induce the *Senate* to disapprove the Rupture. He advised them to continue the Peace, and to leave the Decision of Differences to the Mediators. His Cry was every where Peace and Mediation, and neither Great nor Small could hear any other Discourse. His single Application gave the King as much Trouble as a whole Diet together. That Prince try'd

try'd to amuse him by giving him Words. <sup>1700.</sup>  
 He told him, that being engaged in the *Augustus*  
 Common Cause with his Allies, he was un-  
 der an Obligation to communicate his most  
 Christian Majesty's Proposals to them in  
 writing, before he could determine for him-  
 self. This Evasion served only for a Time.  
 When the Ambassador saw the Couriers had  
 stay'd long enough for their Answers, he  
 renewed his Attack, and importuned the  
 King to explain himself at large. That  
 Prince gave him the Satisfaction he demand-  
 ed. He told him the Affair was too much  
 advanced to admit him to recede, and that  
 for the future there was no other Methods  
 of treating with *Sweden* than Sword in  
 Hand.

*Augustus* went in Person soon after into  
*Livonia* to animate the Attacks of *Riga*,  
 or rather to make a Feint of commencing  
 the Siege in form. The Attacks till then  
 had not been very lively, no Trenches had  
 been opened; the *Saxons* had contented  
 themselves with firing some Cannon at a  
 distance with little or no Success; and as  
 General *Flemming* had left the Camp, and  
 was gone to *Warsaw*, to ask a Reinforce-  
 ment of Troops and a Supply of Money,  
 Hostilities had in a manner ceased on both  
 Sides. The King's Arrival put his Troops  
 in motion, who were reinforced almost at  
 the same time with about 10000 Men,  
 Horse

1700.  
He passes  
the *Dwina*  
na.

Horse and Foot from *Saxony*. He attempted to pass the *Dwina* about five Miles from *Riga*. Some of the *Swedes*, who had been sent to the Relief of *Livonia*, made head against him but gave way upon the first Attack. They were forced to retreat, and leave the *Saxons* at Liberty to encamp on the other Side of the River.

And posts  
himself  
advanta-  
geously on  
the other  
Side of the  
River.

The King's first Care was to post himself to the best Advantage. He seized a rising Ground covered with Trees and Bushes, which served to cover his Cannon from the view of his Enemy. To avoid Surprise his Rearguard did not pass the River, but remained on the other Side, where it also took possession of an Eminence, and planted a Battery of Cannon. Whilst *Augustus* made these Dispositions, *Welling* the *Swedish* General, who encamped at half a League from *Riga* with 10000 *Finlanders*, Horse and Foot, thought it necessary to quit his Entrenchments and take a View of the *Saxons*, whom he believed much weaker than they were. *Augustus* made use of a Stratagem to continue him in his Error. That Prince opposed him only for two Days with small Detachments, who advanced slowly towards the Enemy, fired at a distance in a hurry, and retired with the utmost Diligence.

General  
*Welling* de-  
ceived by  
a Strata-  
gem.

*Welling* deceived by these Feints, gave in to the Snare, and advanced with Resolution to give Battle to an Enemy he looked upon

on as half conquered ; but he had been ill served by his Spies. No sooner was he come within reach of the *Saxon* Artillery, than he was saluted with a Storm of Bullets, from a Place where he did not suspect a single Piece of Cannon, and obliged to retire after having lost several hundred Men. 1700.

The next Day the last of *July*, the *Saxons* encouraged by this Success, came down from their Hills, and went in their turn in quest of the Enemy, who notwithstanding the Shock he had received the Day before, persisted in his Error of believing the *Saxon* Army less numerous than his own ; but was at last undeceived when he saw a Body of Troops advance, capable of surrounding him. The Inequality of the Combat did not however abate his Courage. He received the first fire without giving way ; but as it had not been a little rash to have stood his Ground longer against an Army twice as strong as his own, and supported with Artillery, which gave it an additional Superiority, *Welling*, after having sent off the Baggage and Cannon into his Camp, retreated thither with the rest of his Troops, leaving five or six hundred dead upon the Field. *Augustus* marches up to the Enemy, and has the Advantage.

*Augustus* animated by his first Success, He advanced the first of *August* towards *Riga*, with Resolution to attack the *Finlanders* in their Camp. *Welling* saved him that Trouble:

1700.

ble: He quitted his Post, and entered farther into *Livonia* with intent to seize the Passes, by which the *Saxon* Partizans might plunder the flat Country.

He summons the Governor.

He took with him however only 4000 Horse and 1000 Foot; the rest of his Troops marched into the Town, as did the Inhabitants of the Country round about, and all Houses were set on fire, that could be of any Use to the Besiegers. The Body of *Finnlanders* which covered the City of *Riga* being thus removed, the King made a Shew of intending to attack the Place. He approached so near it with design to take his Observations, that some of his Horse-guards were killed by the Cannon from the Town. After which he invested the Place, and sent to summon the Governor to surrender it in six Days, charging him with all Consequences in case of his refusal. *Dahlberg*, who knew his Duty, replied, That he thought it an honour a great King would condescend to attack him in Person, and that his Glory would be so much the greater, in defending himself to the last Extremity. *Augustus* had less Inclination to besiege the Town in form, than to have the Gates opened to him; for which reason he made use of Promises and Threats alternately. When he saw the Governor was inflexible, he applied to the Inhabitants. He sent back thirty of their fellow Citizens who had

had been taken Prisoners, giving them their Liberty upon condition they should assure the Burgbers of *Riga*, that if they did not open their Gates at the time fixed, their Ruin was inevitable, and that they should only survive their City to see it buried in its own Ashes. 1700.

Dreadful as this Sentence was, the Inhabitants looked upon it only as a Threat: *Augustus* they believed had other Notions than to conquer an heap of Ashes, and would think twice before he determined to burn a City of that Importance. However when the fatal Term arrived, the King did not fail to make a Shew of intending the Execution of his Threats: He ordered a certain Number of Bombs with some red hot Balls to be thrown into the Place, which did not however do much Damage; but whether he proceeded to that Extremity, only to try if the Inhabitants would talk a more submissive Language upon seeing their Ruin begin, or complied with the Representations made by the Ambassador of the States General, who could not suffer a City to be burnt full of Merchandise belonging to the *Hollanders*, or whether he thought That no proper Place to expect the *Swedish* Army, which since the Peace of *Holstein* was upon its March into *Livonia* to attack the *Saxons*; *Augustus*

Inhabitants Opinion of this Summons.  
Motives for raising the Siege.

X raised

1700. raised the Siege directly, and turned his Arms another Way.

War of  
*Holstein.*

Whilst the King was besieging this Place, the Dutchy of *Holstein* had been the Scene of War. On one Side, a Body of *Saxon* Troops, a Body of *Brandenburgers*, another of *Wolfenbuttle* and a fourth of *Hesse-Cassel* had joined the *Danes*, who had taken several Places there: On the other 8000 *Swedes*, the Troops of *Hannover* and *Zell*, and three *Dutch* Regiments, had entered *Holstein* to the Duke's Assistance. In fine *Charles XII.* King of *Sweden* taking advantage of the King of *Denmark's* Absence, who was employed in *Holstein*, had made an unforeseen Descent upon *Zealand*, which Descent decided every thing. Master of that Island and upon the point of seizing the Capital, he had threatened to put all Things to Fire and Sword, if the King of *Denmark* did not make Peace with the Duke of *Holstein*. The *Dane* did not want much intreaty. Attacked at once in *Zealand* and *Holstein*, he was in no condition to make head on both Sides. He consented to treat, and the Ministers met accordingly at *Trawendal*, where the Treaty was soon concluded. This Peace left the King of *Sweden* at liberty to carry his Arms into *Livonia*. Rid of the *Danes*, who had reduced him to an unseason-

Its Con-  
clusion.



unseasonable Diversion, he made haste to oppose the two Enemies that remained. 1700.

These were the King of *Poland*, and the *Czar*. Tho' the first had lost an Ally in the King of *Denmark*, that Circumstance made no Alteration in his Designs. It then began to appear he had taken Arms against *Sweden* with other Views than of favouring the King of *Denmark* by a Diversion. Some Months before *Augustus* had concluded a League with the *Czar* of *Muscovy*, to take from *Sweden* *Livonia*, and all the Lands that Prince possessed between the Gulf of *Finland*, the *Baltick* Sea, *Poland* and *Muscovy*. The War which had continued till then between the *Czar* and the *Potte*, had prevented the Execution of the Project. But the Peace of thirty Years, concluded with the *Turks*, left him at liberty to pursue the Enterprize. He had already sent the Governor of *Novogrod* Orders, to proclaim War against *Sweden*, to enter *Livonia*, and to besiege the best Places in that Province. He prepared to march in person at the Head of a Body of Troops, to form the Siege of *Narva*, and had already published a Manifesto with his Reasons for taking Arms, and to give his doing so a colour of Justice. He therein said, that tho' *Sweden* had given him Assurances of its Intention to continue in Peace with *Muscovy*, that Court had nevertheless un-

Designs of  
*Augustus*  
in making  
War upon  
*Sweden*.

His  
League  
with the  
*Czar*.

Who pub-  
lishes a  
Manifesto.

1700.

derhand had recourse to Intrigues, to disconcert his Measures; that amongst other Things they had proposed a League to the King of *Poland*, for acting jointly against *Muscovy*; that those Intrigues had very much conduced to the Difficulties he had met with in concluding a Peace with *Constantinople*. He complained also, that the King of *Sweden* had compelled the King of *Denmark* his Ally, to make a disadvantageous Treaty with the Duke of *Holstein*, from which he had industriously excluded the King of *Poland*, that he might not want an Opportunity to distress him. He added, these Reasons obliged him to avenge the Injuries done to his Friends and Allies, and to defeat all dangerous Projects that might be formed to their Prejudice.

His Declaration of War, which he caused to be publish'd, contained some Grievances of much less Consequence than the before-mentioned. Among others it sets forth, that in his passing at *Riga* in 1697, the Honours paid him were defective; that they had made him pay too dear for Provisions; that when he crossed the *Dwina*, the Barks furnished for his Use were not good enough, and that they had exacted upon him in the price of them. All the World were of Opinion that that Prince had better have suppressed such sort of Grievances, and that it would have been more glorious for him to have concealed the true Reasons for his taking Arms under

~~under~~ the Cover of Generosity as he had <sup>1700.</sup>  
done before in his Manifesto.

Several Powers of *Europe* attempted to <sup>Several</sup>  
prevent the Storm about to fall upon *Livonia*. <sup>Powers</sup>  
The Emperor earnestly solicited the <sup>offer their</sup>  
King of *Poland* to prefer a Treaty, and the <sup>Mediation.</sup>  
King of *France* offered his Mediation.

*Augustus* at first gave hopes of his Acquiescence, and did all things in his power to have it believed, his Inclinations were entirely turned to Peace. His Conduct however agreed but little with his Words; for he lost no Time in advancing the Execution of the Measures concerted between him and the *Czar*. After having desisted from bombarding *Riga*, he intended to secure the Fort of *Kokenhausen*. The 2d of *October* he invested it by a Detachment under the command of Colonel *Schulenburg*, and afterwards ordered General *Steynau* to besiege it; whose Conduct was much the same as General *Flemming's* before *Riga*. He sounded the Commandant with Threats and Promises, but those ways making no impression upon that Officer who knew his Duty and had his Honour at Stake, it was necessary to order the Artillery to be brought before the Place. The Fire was so great, that on the 6th the Breach was large enough for the Assault. The Commandant, who could have no hopes of defending it with Success, desired to capitulate; which was the more readily

1700.

granted, as he was believed still in a Condition to make resistance. It was indeed not known that the Garrison was in want of Meal for Bread, and that the Bombs which had fallen into the Cisterns had spoiled the Water.

Fort of  
Kokenhau-  
sen capit-  
ulates.

The taking this Fort was of more Use than Glory. A small Work carried by a Royal Army, could be considered as a matter of little or no Consequence, and as a Conquest of small Honour to the Arms of *Augustus*. That Prince however, found his Advantage in it. It opened him a Communication with *Muscovy*, covered *Courland*, facilitated the Establishment of Magazines, and took in a more commodious space of Country for the Winter-quarters of his Troops.

Advantage  
of taking  
that Fort.

Before the End of the Campaign, *Augustus* marched several times in quest of *Welling*, who continued in *Livonia* with a flying Camp of 10000 Men, but lost his Labour. The *Swedish* General, who knew himself too weak to hazard a Battle, chose to retreat, and broke down the Bridges behind him, to stop the pursuit of the *Saxons*. *Augustus* perceived the Impossibility of coming up with him, and called a Council of War, in which it was agreed, that it was in vain to pursue the *Swedes* any longer; because before they could be overtaken, the great Reinforcements, they expected, would arrive;

arrive; besides which the Season was too far advanced, and it was reasonable to fear the Army already afflicted with Sickness, would diminish considerably by new Fatigues. These Reasons made them conclude it best to send the Troops into Quarters; upon which the King immediately set out for *Warsaw*.

Whilst the King of *Poland* had been employed in the pursuit of General *Welling*, the *Muscovites*, to the Number of near 100000 Men, had entered *Ingria*, and put all Things to Fire and Sword. They had afterwards detached a Body of 8000 Men, to form a Camp before *Narva*. The *Czar* arrived there soon after with 20000 Horse and 10000 Foot, with design to besiege the Place. The 14th of *October* that Prince laid a Bridge of Boats over the *Narva*, passed it in person Halfpike in hand, and opened the Trenches himself. He had given the Command of the Army to the Duke of *Croy*, an experienced *German* General, ranking himself as a private Lieutenant. Colonel *Horn* commanded in the Town. The Garrison was weak; about 1000 Foot and 500 Horse, with some hundreds of Burghers and Peasants, who had taken Arms. The Fortifications were however in very good Condition.

There were good Reasons to believe the *Czar* would reduce *Narva* in a very little time.

1700.

King of  
Sweden  
arrives in  
Livonia.

time. The Attacks were pushed with the utmost Vigour, and the Breach made in the Body of the Place, when news came that the King of Sweden arrived in the Gulf of Riga on the 17th of October, with design to oblige the Muscovites to raise the Siege. That Prince had however no more than 20000 Men with him; but he knew their Courage and his own Valour would not suffer him to regard the Superiority of an Enemy in point of Number. After their landing at Pernau, Derpt, and Revel, Charles drew them up in a Body and encamped near Wasenburgh, in expectation of his Artillery and Ammunition from Sweden.

Czar's  
Measures  
to defeat  
him.

Upon this News the Czar, who knew his Enemy had at most but 20000 Men, took measures to defeat him. He could not believe that Charles with such a handful of Troops would venture to attempt the Relief of Narva, besieged by an Army of near 100000 Men. However he had not such a contempt of the Swedes as to think proper to fight them before he was re-inforced by near 40000 Men, which he had ordered to march from Pleskou. He believed those Troops so necessary, that he went in person to hasten their March. Before his Departure he posted a Detachment of 30000 Men at a League from Narva, in the way the King of Sweden was expected; more advanced in the same Rout 20000

Strelitzs

*Strelitzs* Soldiers of his Guards, who were reckoned the best Troops in his Service, and before them at a distance were placed 5000 Men by way of advanced Guard. Having made these Dispositions he set out for *Pleskau*. 1700.

Before his Return all those Passes were forced. The King of *Sweden* having received his Artillery, began his March, and having approached the Posts of the *Muscovites*, attack'd them one after another. The 26th of *November* he opened a way, Sword in hand, thro' their advanced Guard of 5000 Men: The 27th he attacked the 20000 *Strelitzs*, at the Post of *Puhajoggi*, and forced them: The 28th he made himself Master of the Post of *Sillameggi*, where the Detachment of 30000 Men were planted, who terrified with the Defeat of the *Strelitzs*, did not stay to be attacked, but retired without fighting to the main Body of the Army. All the Posts forced.

*Charles*, having defeated all those Troops, arrived victorious in view of the *Muscovite* Camp. The Rampart, and double Trench, with which it was fortified, did not stop him. Without giving his Troops the least Respite, he gave orders for the Attack the 30th, and as soon as the Cannon had made a Breach in the Entrenchments, the *Swedish* Army, commanded by experienced Generals, and encouraged by their Sovereign's Pre- K. of Sweden attacks his Camp.

1700. Presence, fell on with undaunted Courage  
 in two different Attacks, and with fixed  
 Bayonets opened their way thro' Battalions  
 that crouded to oppose them. For some  
 time the *Muscovites*, who had the Advan-  
 tages of Number and Post, made a Fire that  
 thinned the *Swedish* Ranks. Their bravest  
 Officers fell in the sight of their King, who  
 was himself in the greatest danger. When  
 a Cannon-shot took off his Horse's Head,  
 he leaped intrepid upon another, and con-  
 tinued to charge and give Orders with the  
 same Presence of Mind; till the right Wing  
 of the Enemy, unequal to the support of  
 so obstinate an Attack, gave way, and took  
 to flight. The King pursued them to the  
 River *Narva* without Resistance. The  
*Muscovite* Generals endeavoured in vain to  
 rally their dismayed Soldiers, and were  
 obliged to come themselves, and lay down  
 their Arms at the feet of the Victor. Night  
 prevented the entire Defeat of the left Wing,  
 which *Charles* proposed to attack at break  
 of Day next Morning. But at two of the  
 Clock, General *Veda* who commanded, de-  
 sired Quarter for himself and his Troops;  
 which the King granted. The Soldiers and  
 Officers laid down their Arms at the King's  
 Feet, marching uncovered thro' the Lines  
 of the *Swedish* Army. The loss of the *Mus-  
 covites* amounted to 18000 Men, and of  
 the *Swedes* only to 2000, including the  
 wounded. After

And makes  
 himself  
 Master of  
 it.



After this signal Victory *Charles* made his Entry into *Narva*, attended by the Duke of *Croy* and the other *Muscovite* Generals, to whom he had ordered their Swords to be returned. He stay'd only two Hours in that Place, to give Thanks for his Success. After which he returned to the Head of his Troops, to prepare them for new Laurels. The *Czar*, who advanced by long Marches against his Enemy, was appriz'd on his way of the Defeat of his Army. He had with him more than 40000 Men, in consequence double the King of *Sweden's* Number, but was not tempted by that Superiority to take his Revenge. He was afraid to encounter an Enemy, who with not 20000 Men had defeated above fourscore thousand, and returned directly; thinking it more politick to complain to Saint *Nicholas*, the Patron Saint of *Muscovy*, that he had abandoned his People on this occasion.

1700.

*Czar's*  
Terror at  
his Ap-  
proach.

Whilst the King of *Sweden* drove the *Muscovites* out of *Livonia*, the King of *Poland* heard at *Warsaw* the Proposals of the Emperor and King of *France*, who solicited his Accommodation with *Sweden*, and had scarce any other Employment than to find Excuses for not complying with their Desire. His Intention was to keep upon the Reserve, till the General Diet upon the point of assembling should come to a Resolution concerning the Rupture, or Peace with

*Augustus*  
tries to  
excuse his  
not ma-  
king Peace

1700. with Sweden. *Augustus* was very desirous the Republick should engage in the Quarrel. Almost all the World were however agreed that a War was directly contrary to the true Interest of *Poland*, and that the want of Success in it could not but have the most unhappy Consequences. And indeed should they have taken possession of *Livonia*, in conjunction with the *Muscovites*, what Apprehensions might they not reasonably have been under from the Neighbourhood of a warlike and enterprizing Prince, who, upon the least Pretext, might break with his Allies, and become their Enemy? They did not observe however one Advantage to the Republick in this War, which was to employ the Nobility, and hinder them from destroying each other.

Troubles  
of Lithuania.

*Lithuania* was again become a Scene of Blood, from the Differences between the Houses of *Sapieha* and *Oginski*. Those Families which had been reconciled by the King's Interposition, were embroiled anew. The *Oginskis*, five or six thousand strong, with the young Prince *Wiesnowiski* at their head, were the Aggressors. They fell upon Prince *Sapieha's* Lands and committed great Disorders: The *Sapiehas*, without consulting the Number of their Enemies, hearkened only to their Resentment. They drew out 2000 Men from *Wilna*, and taking

taking with them some Pieces of Cannon, marched directly up to the Enemy, whom they attacked with fury. The Shock was violent and lasted long. The *Sapiebas* fought with such Rage and Obstinacy, that Victory more than once inclined to their Party: But the greater Number prevailed at last, and the *Sapiebas*, after having lost great part of their People, were obliged to abandon their Cannon, and retire with Precipitation. The Slaughter was great; above a thousand Men on each side were left upon the Place.

1700.

But what was yet worse, this Combat was followed by a Scene which gave Horror to all honest Men. The Son of the Great General *Sapieba*, and *Wonnai* Starost of *Bressau*, having surrendered themselves Prisoners, upon condition their Persons should be safe, when they arrived at the Camp of the Victors, the Nobility exasperated with the Losses they had occasioned, received them with great Strokes of their Sabres, and cut them to pieces. A Barbarity without Example, and a Proof, that Fidelity of the Heart, do not always accompany Birth and Titles.

Barbarous  
Action of  
Oginski's  
Party.

Such was the distracted Condition of *Poland* at the close of the Year 1700. The King at War without the Republick's Participation: The Lords of the Kingdom, and

Divided  
Condition  
of Poland.

1700. and the Nobility in Arms contrary to the King's Will, and massacring each other without Mercy; the King exposing his Person, and exhausting his hereditary Dominions to conquer a Province for the Republick, who disregarded that Conquest; and the principal Lords, instead of assisting a Prince, who sacrificed himself to the aggrandising of their Country, taking Pleasure in ruining the finest of its Provinces. Unhappy Consequences of divided Authority! So advantageous to the publick Welfare is the Agreement of its Head and Members, and so fatal are the Effects, when both the one and the other abuse their Power in favour of their Ambition!

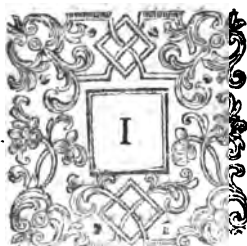




THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
POLAND  
UNDER  
AUGUSTUS II.



BOOK IV.



It was expected that the General Diet, so long sol-<sup>1701.</sup>l-  
icited with so much ear-  
nestness, would reinstate  
Affairs, and especially re-  
store the Tranquillity of  
*Lithuania*. But those false  
Hopes soon vanished. From the first Mea-  
sures

1701.

asures taken for the holding that Assembly, such a number of Difficulties opposed it, as made it necessary to defer it till the Month of *September*.

The Diet  
deferred.

A Council of Senators who met the 15th of *January*, came to a Resolution so little expected. The Cardinal Primate having proposed the Heads that were to be considered, it was found impossible to determine in regard to the greatest Part of them. They only concluded, That the General Diet, which after being several times put off, was proposed to be held in the Month of *March*, should be further deferred till *September*, in order to facilitate the Means of holding it with Tranquillity: That the King should use his utmost Endeavours to put an end to the Troubles of *Lithuania*: That he should for that Reason reside some time in the Dutchy, and march his *German* Troops thither to the Assistance of the House of *Sapieha*: That in regard to the Elector of *Brandenburgh's* Coronation, as King of *Prussia*, it should be referred to the Examination of the first General Diet; which however should not prevent the King from sending to compliment the Elector upon his new Dignity; and that the Queen Dowager should be permitted to continue some time at *Rome*, without prejudice to her Revenues and Pensions from the Republick.

These

These Resolutions were the Occasion, that almost every thing was left undecided. The King however gained the Point he desired. He had two things principally in view, the Re-establishment of the *Sapiebas*, and the Continuance of the War in *Livonia*; which were both made easy in their execution; the one in his being permitted to march his *German* Troops into *Lithuania*, and the other in putting off the Diet, which might have opposed the War with *Sweden*.

1701.  
Augustus obtains his Desire.

*Augustus* did not defer taking the Advantage which offered. He had reason to expect the Conqueror of the *Muscovites* would directly fall upon his Troops, as the Season admitted the Armies to keep the Field. His Design was to reanimate the *Czar*; whom he believed discouraged by the ill Success of the Battle of *Narva*; but was prevented by that Prince, who exhorted him to make vigorous Resolutions, and desired to concert Measures with him to revenge the Check he had received.

Intends to apply to the *Czar* who prevents him.

These two Monarchs had a common Enemy to oppose. The means they believed most expedient to the Success of their Undertakings, were to enter into new Engagements, and to ally themselves more firmly with each other. They agreed upon an Interview at *Birzen*, a small Town of *Lithuania*, which lasted fifteen Days. In the midst of Pleasures carried to excess,

They have an Interview.

1701. the two Princes having almost an equal Inclination to them, *Augustus* presented the *Czar* a Plan of the War they were to execute in concert. According to that Plan the *Czar*, in the Month of *June*, was to bring two hundred thousand Men into the Field. The King of *Poland* was to supply him with fifty thousand *German* Troops, to be hired from different Princes, who were to instruct the *Muscovites* in military Discipline. The *Czar* on his part was to send fifty thousand Men into *Poland*, to learn the Art of War, and engaged to pay three Millions of Rixdollars in two Years to the King of *Poland*, who agreed to keep up an Army of 28000 Foot, and 8000 Horse. All these Troops were to act against the King of *Sweden* in *Livonia*, *Ingria*, and *Finland*.

*Czar* approves the Plan of the War.

Nothing could be imagined more fatal to *Sweden*, and perhaps to a great part of *Europe*, as it was the certain Method to discipline the *Muscovites*. The *Czar* knew perfectly the Advantage of the Plan, and embraced it, proposing to himself all the Consequences it seemed to promise in his favour. These Resolutions taken, the two Monarchs went together to *Mittau*, and from thence to visit the Forts of *Dunamunder*, *Orangeboom*, and *Kokenhausen*, where the *Saxon* Army was posted in the Neighbourhood of *Riga*, on the other side of the *Dwina*.



*Dwina.* After which they parted, with a Promise of supporting each other, and of not making a separate Peace. The *Czar* set out for *Pleskow*, and the King of *Poland* for *Warsaw*. 1701.

*Augustus* on his Return to the Capitol, did not find it in the same Tranquillity in which it appeared at his Departure. He was far from having discharged the Sums he had promised to pay before and after his Coronation, for his Establishment upon the Throne. It was considered, that if the Continuance of the War should be resolved, he might be so exhausted as never to have it in his power to perform those Engagements; which Grievance opened their Eyes, to others, that had not else been observed. They began to murmur again at the Continuance of the *Saxon* Troops upon the Lands of the Republick, contrary to the Laws of the Realm, and expressed an Apprehension of the King's intending to oppress their Liberty. To these Grievances they added the Delay of the General Diet.

In the Provinces the Discontent was much greater, and they talked much higher than at Court. In a particular Diet held in *Great Poland*, it was resolved to send Deputies to the King, and to make the following Demands: 1. That he would order the General Diet to be held in the Month of *May*. 2. To conclude a Peace with *Sweden*.

1701.

3. To put an end to the Troubles of *Lithuania*. 4. To dismiss the *Saxon* Troops. 5. To protest against the Royalty and Coronation of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*.

King's  
Address.

Those Deputies had Audience the 20th of *March*. The King who perceived they expressed the Sense of the Republick in general, thought his Address necessary upon the occasion. He gave them a gracious Reception, and told them, that in all his Actions his sole View was the Glory of the Republick; that tho' the General Diet had been referred by the Senate to the Month of *September*, he would not fail to order its being held much sooner; that he had taken that Resolution before their Arrival; and that they should have an Answer to their Demands in writing.

Diet at  
*Warsaw*.

The Diet was accordingly summoned for the 30th of *May*, and *Great Poland* seemed to be satisfied with the King's Compliance: But when it assembled, their Complaints began again, and the Division of the Nuncios appeared from the first sitting. Those of *Lithuania* refused to be present at the Mass of the Holy Ghost, and the Procession, because the Marshal *Sapieha* was present, bearing his Staff of Office. They did not absent themselves however from the Conferences, which were held for the Nomination of a Director of the Assembly, till a Marshal should be elected.

The

The Staff of Marshal was deposited with the Nuncio of *Posnania*, which was the only thing resolved upon without Debates. When it was proposed to compliment the King in their Formalities according to Custom, their Discontent broke out. They complained in the warmest manner of the *Saxon* Troops, and computed the Damages they had occasioned at twenty Millions. Some of the Deputies went so far as to say, that Reparation ought to be demanded from the King, and that he should be desired to order his Troops not only to quit *Poland* and *Lithuania*, but also *Livonia* and *Courland*; and added that they would not proceed to any Business, if the King did not make the Republick Satisfaction. The more moderate said, the King ought to be allowed time to consider their Demands. It was resolved at last by the majority, to send Deputies to the King, and to represent to him, that the Good of the Republick made it necessary that he should dismiss his Troops, make Peace with *Sweden*, remove the *German* Ministers from his Council, and put an end to the Divisions of *Lithuania* in regard to the House of *Sapieha*.

*Augustus* answered, that he had not undertaken the War but for the Republick's Advantage; that if it was judged contrary to its Interest to continue it, he was ready to dismiss his Troops, upon condition he

1701.

Its Complaints.

King's Answer to them.

1701.

Does not  
satisfy the  
Nuncios.

should be secured from any Attempts of the King of *Sweden*; and that he would join with the Nobility to pacify the Troubles of *Lithuania*. This was in some measure to comply with every thing. The greatest part of the Nuncio's were however not satisfied with this Answer, and judged the King was less inclined to give them Satisfaction than to elude their Demands. But as they did not agree among themselves, they resolved that each of the three Provinces which form the Republick, should deliberate apart, and report their separate Resolutions to the Diet. This Expedient had no better Success. The Provincial Assemblies were as much divided as the General Assembly, so that the Impossibility of their Agreement obliged them to demand a new Diet. The Choice of the Time was a new occasion for Debate. Some were for having it appointed for the 15th of *September*; others for a Term more remote; and both Parties obstinate in their own Opinions. They were compelled to refer the Decision to the King, upon condition the Assembly should be summoned before the 1st of *January* 1702. They desired also he would fix the time for the Departure of his Troops, interpose his Authority in appeasing the Troubles of *Lithuania*, and remove General *Flemming* from the Office of Master of the Horse of *Lithuania*, to bestow

bestow that Post in favour of a *Lithuanian*. 1701.

The first Deputy of *Poznania* was charged with this Commission, having acted as Marshal during this Diet. The King gave for answer, that he would summon another General Diet for the 22d of *December*, and dismiss his *German* Troops as soon as the Peace with *Sweden* should be concluded. Upon which the Diet separated without taking any Resolution. It was not adjourned to the Month of *December*, but entirely dissolved, in order to avoid the Complaints of those who had been referred to this Assembly for Satisfaction.

Whilst *Augustus* was employed in answering the Complaints of the *Poles*, and in preventing their taking any violent Resolutions, the King of *Sweden* was intent upon disconcerting the Projects formed at the Interview of *Birzen*. The Conferences had been held in the Night, in order to render their Result more secret. But that Precaution had been in vain, the King of *Sweden* having had a Spy at *Birzen*, who had industriously insinuated himself into the familiarity of the Secretaries of the *Polish* and *Russian* Ministers, from whom he got the Secret, which he lost no time in communicating to the Prince he served.

The *Swedes* had passed the Winter about *Narva*, and the *Saxons* continued in their

1701.

Lines along the *Dwina*, in the Neighbourhood of *Riga*. *Charles XII* knew those Troops were to be augmented as soon as possible with 20000 *Cossacks*, and as many *Muscovites*, and, resolving to attack them before the Arrival of that Reinforcement, began his March at the head of 15000 Foot, and 5000 Horse. He advanced to the *Dwina*, and undertook to pass it in sight of the *Saxons* posted on the other side. From the 17th at night till the next Day, he employed in laying a Bridge from *Riga* to an Island situate in the middle of the River. Six Battalions passed it, and on the 18th at break of Day, embarked upon Boats of a new Invention, whose sides being raised higher than ordinary, covered the Troops, and might be let down to form a Bridge in favour of their landing. Those six Battalions came to the opposite Shore in a Morass, and the Barks ranged upon the right and left, to support them with the Fire of their Cannon. What made their landing the easier, was a great number of Boats laden with Hemp and wet Straw, to which they set fire, and made a thick smoke, that being driven by the Wind, which favoured the *Swedes*, prevented the *Saxons* from seeing the Enemy, and by that means from opposing their Descent.

And beats  
the Saxon  
Army.

As the Foot landed, they drew up behind *Chevaux de Frise*, which served them for

for an Intrenchment. The Saxons, to the number of five Battalions and 10 Squadrons, advanced to the Attack with vigour enough, but whether the disadvantage of the Ground, or the intrepid Countenances of the Swedes daunted them, they retired to a dry place flanked by a Morass and a Wood, where their Artillery was planted. Charles, encouraged by this first Success, was not long without attacking them. He had besides 15000 Men, and the Duke of Courland but twelve. The Duke omitted nothing to animate his Troops. He had two Horses killed under him, and attacked the King of Sweden's Guard three times; but being struck off his Horse by a Blow with the Cock of a Musquet which a Swede gave him, his Army were terrify'd, and would fight no longer. The Soldiers endeavour'd to save themselves by flight, and the Duke's Cuirassiers raised him with great difficulty, and had no less trouble to carry him off thro' the press.

That Prince began to rally his Troops at *Thompsdorp*, about five Miles above *Riga*. And pursues it. The Swedes who pursued him obliged him to fly towards *Kokenhausen* where the main Body of the Saxon Army lay with 20000 Muscovites, who were come to join them. They did not think themselves safe there, but returned into *Lithuania* under the Cannon of *Birzen*, after having blown up the Fortifications of *Kokenhausen*.

That

1701.  
*Swedes*  
*Advantage*  
*over the*  
*Musco-*  
*vites.*

That Defeat cost the King of *Poland* about 2000 Men, without reckoning 1500 Prisoners, and a considerable Booty. It had been preceded some Days before by another Advantage gained by the *Swedes* over 6000 *Muscovites*, 3000 of whom were left upon the place; and was followed with the loss of *Mittau* the Capital of the Dutchy of *Courland*, and of all the Places the *Saxons* had seized with all their Magazines. They had nothing left but the Fort of *Dunamunder*, which held out to the End of the Year. The Envoys of the Emperor, the King of *Denmark* and the States General, offered their Masters Mediation to accommodate the Difference between the Kings of *Poland* and *Sweden*; but the latter flushed with the Success of his Arms reply'd, he could not give them Audience till the End of the Campaign. He had already formed the Design of dethroning his Enemy, which might have been considered amongst Impossibilities, if the Event had not proved it otherwise.

*Augustus's*  
*Concern.*

The News of the *Saxons* Defeat being carried to *Warsaw*, threw the Court into the utmost Consternation. *Augustus* was the more struck with it as he knew they were the flower of his Troops, who had suffered the *Swedes* to pass the *Dwina*, and as he was so far from expecting their Defeat, that he flattered himself, his Army, reinforced by the



## Book IV. under AUGUSTUS II.

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the *Muscovites*, would be in a Condition to make no small Progress in *Livonia*. 1701.

That Prince regretted his being unable to put himself at the Head of his Troops, which an Accident prevented. He had broke his Left Arm by a fall from his Horse; in returning from Dinner at a Country-House two Leagues from *Warsaw*.

But if the King was afflicted with the Defeat of his Troops, the Malecontents of the Kingdom; who were commonly called *The Republicans*, were overjoyed at it. They foresaw that *Augustus* would be obliged at last to make his *German* Troops quit the Kingdom, for they did not imagine that *Poland* had any thing to apprehend from the *Swedish* Arms. The Primate, if we may believe him sincere at that time, was of the same Opinion, as he express'd himself in a Letter to the King of *Sweden*, which he wrote the 27th of *July* by the Advice of the Senate. He told him the sincere Friendship the *Polish* Nation always preserved for its Neighbours, the Love of Justice, their Sense of the Uncertainty of Events and the Faith of Treaties subsisting between *Poland* and *Sweden*, had prevented their engaging in the present War: That it had appeared in the last General Diet, that the King of *Poland* entering into the Sentiments of those who inclined to Peace, desired nothing so much as the Conclusion of the War. That if

His Enemies Joy.

Primate writes to the King of Sweden.

1701.

if Heaven nevertheless decreed otherwise, he conjured his *Swedish* Majesty in the Name and Sense of the whole Republick, not to commit any Hostilities upon; and least of all to invade the Frontiers of the Kingdom, or the Provinces in its dependance; that your Majesty, added he, may preserve the same Friendship for us, which the Republick has always retained inviolable for you.

Deputies  
sent to that  
Prince.

The Nobility of *Lithuania* sent at the same time two Deputies to King *Charles*, with a Memorial almost in the same Terms. After having represented that the Republick was a Body distinct from the King; that it was in perfect Amity with the Crown of *Sweden*, and had never consented to the Invasion of *Livonia*, they desired he would order his Troops to retire from the Towns and Frontiers of *Poland*. They assured him of their Religious Observance of the Treaty of *Oliva*, and that they should have no part in any Measures that might give him cause of Offence.

The King of *Sweden* would not consent that the whole Republick had maintained inviolably their Friendship with *Sweden*. Many Members of that great Body had favoured *Augustus's* Enterprize upon *Livonia*, and Numbers of *Poles* had been seen in his Army: Besides *Charles* was not ignorant, that the Republick had suffered the Ice to be broke, with design to be of the Party if the Enterprize

Enterprise should succeed. That Monarch <sup>1701.</sup> nevertheless answer'd the Primate in a Stile <sup>His Answer to the</sup> which express'd no Resentment to the <sup>Poles.</sup> He declared himself satisfied with the Re-<sup>Primate.</sup> publick in respect to the War *Augustus* had made upon him, and profess'd his having it much at heart to support a good Correspondence with them: He added, that his Continuance in *Courland* ought not to give them any Umbrage, and that as Duke *Ferdinand* had publickly taken part in the War, he could do no less than use the Right it gave him against a declared Enemy. He concluded with saying, "I am not ignorant of the Misfortunes of the Republick, nor the Oppressions they suffer from the *Saxon* Troops, nor the Violation of their Liberties by King *Augustus*, who thereby renders himself unworthy the Throne he possesses; for which Reasons I am ready to assist the Republick with all my Power in the Defence of its Laws and Liberty."

Two things hindered this Letter from the <sup>Obstacles</sup> Effect the King of *Sweden* propos'd. The <sup>he meets with.</sup> Offer he made of delivering *Poland* from Oppression, alarmed a Nation not apt to approve their Neighbours intermeddling with their Affairs. The Idea of an Army of Foreigners ready to enter the Kingdom, roused their Attention and forced them to think of warding the Blow, by putting it <sup>into</sup>

1701.

*Augustus*  
dismisses  
his Saxon  
Troops.

Primate's  
circular  
Letters.

into *Augustus's* Power to resist an Enemy who was so bold to undertake to dethrone Him. But what determined them, and changed their Discontent into Confidence and Tenderness, was the Step *Augustus* took in dismissing the *Saxon* Army. The Removal of the foreign Troops; leaving from thenceforth no room for Complaint; dispelled the Umbrage which had been taken; and all People express'd as much Zeal for the Defence of his Person and Dignity, as Disposition before to abandon him. The Primate himself, tho' of Intelligence with *Charles* for dethroning *Augustus*, sent circular Letters into the *Palatinates*, wherein he represented, that the bad Success of the King's Arms nearly affected the Republick; which ought, says he, to be as much united with him as the Head with the other Members of the Human Body. He enlarged upon the Methods that had been taken to reconcile the two Kings at War, and to engage the King of *Sweden* to spare the Frontiers, and maintain a good Correspondence with the Republick. He observed, that as *Augustus* had withdrawn his Army not only from *Courland* but *Lithuania*, it was the Duty of the Republick to provide for the Safety of his Person, who was then destitute of Troops. The present danger, continued he, is not at the Door but in the House, and Means must be found to deliver

us from it immediately without the loss of 1761.  
time in long Deliberations.

The King wrote circular Letters at the same time, in which he signified to the Nobility, that in compliance with the Republick, he had sent back his Troops to Saxony: That by so doing he found himself void of all Defence, and exposed to all the Conqueror should think fit to undertake; and that the Republick, having itself but a small Number of Troops, was in the same Danger with himself. Upon this News, the *Palatinates* of *Cracow*, *Lublin* and *Sandomir*, assured him by their Deputies; that they were resolved to support him with their Lives and Fortunes. The *Palatinate* of *Cujavia* further applied to the Primate, desiring him to write to the King of Sweden; That as the Republick had not made it their Request that he would take any part in their Affairs upon him, they hoped he would not attempt any Thing in prejudice of the Fidelity due to their Sovereign. The other *Palatinates* of *Poland* declared all such Enemies to their Country, who did not employ their utmost Power in Conservation of the Honour, Reputation and Person of the King. As to the *Lithuanians* they were silent, their Divisions continuing as great as ever.

The King's Letters to the Nobility.

Application to the Primate.

The *Czar* till then had not been in haste to execute the Plan concerted with *Augustus* the *Czar's* Ardor abates.

at

1704.

at the Interview of *Birzen*. The bad Fortune of the *Saxon Army* had abated his Ardor to revenge his Loss at the Battle of *Narva*; besides which he saw *Augustus* was not in a Condition to assist him with the 50000 Men that were to be raised in the Empire. He contented himself with sending 20000 *Muscovites* into *Livonia*, who sometimes came to Blows with the *Swedes*, but almost always with loss, and at last retired into their own Country.

*Poles Promises to the King.*

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*Primate's Letter to the King.*

*Augustus* had no Assistance to expect but from the *Poles*, yet he seemed to have reason to rely upon them. Every Day new Deputies from particular Diets assured him that the Nobility would take his Defence upon Themselves. The Senate came to a Resolution to declare War upon *Charles*, if he persisted to pursue his Conquests; and after the Senate had taken that Step, the artful Primate could not avoid writing to the King of *Sweden*, as he had been call'd upon to do by the *Palatinate of Cujavia*. The Stile of this Letter was pathetick, its Expressions insinuating and seeming to flow from a Spirit of Concord and Justice; Snares into which the Mind of Man naturally falls, when unaware of their Menaces who make use of them.

*Charles*, who knew the Cardinal's real Intentions, was not at a loss for Behaviour; Far from being prevail'd upon by the Primate's

mate's Exhortations to use his Fortune with Moderation, his Answer discover'd, he was more sensible to the Glory of his Revenge, than to that of conquering his Resentment. He declared he should preserve the ancient Amity and good Intelligence with the Re-  
That Prince's Answer.  
 publick, provided they did not interfere in the unjust War the King of *Poland* had made upon him; that it was as just as necessary to the common Interest, to remove a King from the Government who had infringed the Privileges of the *Polish* Nation, and to give him a Successor, in whom they might have more reason to confide, and who might not be so dangerous a Neighbour.

This Letter had not a like Effect with every Body. If it piqued a great Number of *Poles* in point of Honour, and engaged them to resolve upon the Defence and Preservation of their Sovereign's Dignity; some it intimidated, who apprehended the Entrance of a victorious Army upon the Lands of the Republick, and others it encouraged, who till then had been contented to cabal in Secret. These last took off the Mask now, and began to declare publicly for Liberty and Justice, tho' it was scarce known what they meant by those Expressions.

The Division and Disorders were still greater in *Lithuania*. As long as the *Sa-*  
Disorders in Lithuania.  
*pietas* saw the King in a Condition to sup-

1701.

port them, they adhered to that Prince; but when they understood he had dismissed his Troops, and they had no farther Assistance to expect from him, they had recourse to the King of *Sweden*, and entered into Engagements to favour his Designs. But at the same time *Oginski* and his Party by a Conduct very extraordinary, went over to *Augustus*, engaged themselves to serve him, and promised to support his Interest at the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes.

The King of *Sweden* had ordered some Companies of Dragoons to march to the Relief of the *Sapiehas*, who posted them to guard the Pass of *Kroting*. Those Troops were in all but two hundred Men. *Oginski* immediately marched at the Head of 2000 to attack them. Notwithstanding the Superiority of Number he was repuls'd with loss; and there began the Rupture between the *Lithuanians* and the *Swedes*. King *Charles*, who till then had ordered his Troops to commit no Violences, sent a new Detachment of 2500 Men into *Lithuania*, under the Command of Colonel *Humeregrax* a *Scot*, with Orders to shew no favour, and to attack *Oginski* wherever he could meet with him. Soon after he followed that Detachment in Person at the Head of his Horse-guard and 2000 Grenadiers.

*Oginski* repulsed  
with loss.

*Oginski* was posted near *Pilzen* with 14000 Men. Whilst the King of *Sweden*

was



was upon his March towards him, he had detached 4000 Men with Orders to ruin the Lands of the Chancellor *Radziwil*, who had taken Party with the *Sapiehas*. The King of *Sweden* took that Opportunity to attack him. At his approach *Oginski* drew up in Battle and stood the first Shock with great Resolution: But upon the King's appearing at the Head of 500 Grenadiers, the *Lithuanian* Horse, who could not support their Fire, took to their Heels and disputed the Victory no longer. *Charles* after that made no scruple to quarter his Troops in *Lithuania* and the Province of *Samogitia*, and published a Declaration importing, he would not cease to pursue *Oginski* and his Party till the *Sapiehas* had Justice done them.

1701.

And is defeated again.

The *Swedes* about the same time had another Advantage. King *Charles* had no design to besiege the Fort of *Dunamunder* in form, but was contented to block it up and throw some Bombs into it. Colonel *Canitz*, who commanded the Fort, finding himself reduced to Extremity without Ammunition or the hope of Relief, and with only fifty four Men capable of Service, desired to capitulate, and sent Count *Dahlberg* a Scheme of the Conditions upon which he offered to surrender. Those Conditions were immediately dispatch'd to the King, tho' it was not believed he would agree to them,

*Dunamunder* Fort surrenders to the *Swedes*.

1701.

them, and that he would resolve to have the Place at Discretion; but that Opinion was a Mistake. *Charles* admired the Governor's Fidelity, praised his Courage, and as a Mark of his Esteem granted him as honourable a Capitulation as he could desire. It was signed the 21st after a Blockade of four Months, and the Garrison marched out the next Day.

General  
Diet at  
*Warsaw.*

The same Day the Fort of *Dunamunder* surrendered, the General Diet opened at *Warsaw*. The Staff of Marshal of the Diet was presented provisionally to the Nuncio of *Siradia*, who accepted it. But when the Election of Marshal was proposed, three of the Deputies said, their Instructions were not to consent to it before the Troubles of *Lithuania* should be composed. The Nuncios of the Dutchy warmly opposed that Demand, and *Zaradeck* Standard-bearer of the Province of *Samogitia*, read a passage in his Instructions, which gave no small trouble to the Diet. It was thereby expressly directed, that the Nuncios of that Province should consent to an Accommodation with the House of *Sapieba*, upon penalty of their Honour and Estates; that they should proceed immediately to the Election of the Marshal, that Sentence should pass upon the *Sapiebas*, and that they should be declared Infamous and Enemies of their Country.

*Zembec*

*Zembec*, Referendary of the Crown, being permitted to speak on the 23d, advised the Diet to try gentle Means for composing the Divisions of *Lithuania*, and that Deputies should afterwards be sent to the King of *Sweden*, to demand that he would retire from the Republick. Three Deputies of *Little Poland* supported this Proposal with their Voices. *Zaradeek* strongly opposed it and repeated what he had said the Day before. The Nuncios of *Podlachia* reply'd, that the Princes of the House of *Sapieha* could not be treated as Enemies to their Country nor declared Infamous, as they were not convicted of any Crime. A Nuncio of *Czerssa* represented, that the Titles of Infamous and Enemies of their Country were more applicable to the Republicans of *Lithuania*, who were for acknowledging the King as absolute Master: To which Recrimination the *Lithuanians* did not think fit to reply. One of them on the contrary protested, that all *Lithuania* were not averse to an Accommodation with the House of *Sapieha*, and that a great Number of the Nobility desired nothing more passionately, than that equitable Means might be found to appease their Differences. Upon the Representation of *Humieniski*, Nuncio of *Russia*, the Provisional Marshal was directed to demand of the King, whether he sincerely desired, that the Differences

1701.  rences of *Lithuania* should be accommodated.

Other  
Proposals.

The King's Answer was expected the third Sitting: But they were told by the Marshal, that he could not venture to make any such Proposal to his Majesty, as the Diet had not been unanimous in their Resolution. Upon which three Nuncios of *Mazovia* proposed, that the Marshal should be directed to make the following Demands to the King. 1. Whether he knew any Means for composing the Troubles of *Lithuania*? 2. To degrade those who had advised the War in *Livonia*. 3. To send home the rest of the *Saxon* Troops, who continued in the Province of *Mazovia*. All the Deputies agreed to these Proposals, and the Assembly adjourned till after the Holidays.

Provisional  
Marshal's Re-  
port.

The 29th the Provisional Marshal reported his Commission. He said, the King had given him for Answer. 1. That he had done every Thing that depended on him, towards composing the Troubles of *Lithuania*, but that his good Intent had not been attended with the Effect he could have wished, and desired the Republick would consult such Means as should be more conducive to the End proposed. 2. That he did not know there were any *German* Troops in *Mazovia*, and that if there were, he would give Orders for them to remove. 3. That he had declared already his Motives for undertak-  
ing

ing the War in *Livonia*, which was in discharge of the *Pacta Conventa*, by which he was obliged to reunite the Provinces to the Crown, that had been wrested from it. Several Debates ensued that Day. It had been proposed, that the whole Assembly should attend the King, to beg he would apply himself effectually to remedy the Diffusions of *Lithuania*, and the Diet could not agree upon that Point. 1701.

The 30th it was agreed, that the Marshal should attend the King, and intreat him to order the Treaties to be again set on Foot, that had begun in regard to the *Lithuanian* Affairs, and to fix a Time and Place for the Deputies of the Diet and those of the Senate to meet. The King gave them his Answer the next Day, which was, that upon the Representation of the Nobility he would order those Treaties to be again set on foot, and nominated the Senators present for Commissioners. Upon which the King was farther desired, that those Treaties might be concluded in three Days. Order given him.

As soon as the Conferences began, the Senators Commissioners made a great many Difficulties. Among other Things they could not consent to the General Amnesty, to which the House of *Sapieha* refused to agree. They insisted strongly upon the Punishment of those who had killed the Young Prince *Sapieha*, Great Master of the Horse 1702.

1782  
 of *Lithuania*, and the *Lithuanians* on the contrary pretended, that as they had consented to an Accommodation, the House of *Sapieha* ought not to oppose a General Oblivion of all that had past. In fine after some Debates, it was agreed the 16th of *January*, "That the House of *Sapieha* should be re-established in all its Fortunes, Honours, Offices and Prerogatives, enjoyed by it in Times past: That all Hostilities, Injuries and Damages, done by either Party during the Troubles, should be forgotten, and (a) pardon'd by the General Amnesty, which had been granted: That the Dispute between the Houses of *Sapieha* and *Radzivil*, in respect to the Guardianship of the Princess of *Newburgh*, should be referred to the Arbitration of some Persons of Authority.

Re-establishment  
 of the  
 House of  
*Sapieha*.

This Accommodation was signed the 17th by the two Parties. After which they went to the Great Church, where the *Te Deum* was sung with the Service of Thanksgiving. The General Diet then resumed its Deliberations; to conclude upon an Embassy to be sent to the King of *Sweden*; to elect a Marshal, and to consider the several Points that concerned the present State

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(a) A certain Canon, named *Boozoo*, was excepted from the Pardon, and was to be tryed as a Ringleader in the Murder of the young Prince *Sapieha*.

State of the Nation) But the Nuncios were divided amongst themselves, and the Diet, observing it impossible to come to any Resolutions, broke up tumultuously the 7th of February. 1702.  
Diet  
breaks up  
tumultuously.

To supply the want of the General Diet's Resolutions, *Augustus* called a Great Council. The Points he proposed to their Consideration, explained the Difficulties he was under. He asked, What Means were to be used for driving the *Swedes* out of *Lithuania*? Whether the Senate could not find a more suitable Remedy than the Embassy proposed to be sent to the King of *Sweden*? In case that Embassy took place, what Persons should be charged with it? What the Substance of it should be, and how the Sums necessary for the Expence should be raised? What Answer was to be given the *Muscovite* Ambassador who desired Audience, and whether an Embassy should be sent to the *Czar*? What Methods were to be taken for the safety of the King and Republick, in case the *Swedes* should advance further into the Kingdom? To what new Means recourse was to be had to supply the Expences of the Artillery, Ammunition, and Army? A Great  
Council  
assembled.

The Consideration of these Articles employed the Council, when the King sent the Palatine of *Marienburg* to make two further Proposals. First, he offered to pay out The  
King's  
Proposals.  
of

1702. of his own Coffers, two Quarters Arrears to the Crown-Army, upon condition it would assist him against the King of *Sweden*. Secondly, he demanded Permission to recal 12000 *Saxons* into the Kingdom, to join that Army. The Primate's Answer, in the Name of the Assembly, gave sufficient reason to believe him of Intelligence with the King of *Sweden*. He said in regard to the first Point, it would be an unnecessary Expence, as the Army would not engage in that War without the Consent of the Republick. For the second, his Answer was, that he would not advise the King to order the Return of his *Saxon* Troops, as it would be a certain Means to excite new Troubles in the Kingdom.

Resolutions of that Assembly.

The Great Council did not omit the Decision of several Points; among others that the *Polopolite* should mount on horseback, that the Republick might be in a Condition of Defence in case of necessity; that the King should apply to the Powers, Guarantees of the Treaty of *Oliva*, to use their Offices for the support of that Treaty; that he should give Audience to the *Muscovite* Ambassador; That he should not appoint a Minister to reside at the *Czar's* Court; but by the Consent of the approaching Diet; and that the Embassy proposed should be sent to the King of *Sweden*.

Augustus,



*Augustus*, under the necessity of referring himself to the Discretion of the Senate, endeavoured at least to support the Dignity of the Crown. He sent *Von Sacken*, one of his Chamberlains, into *Lithuania*, to notify to King *Charles*, that the Embassy of the Republick was preparing to set out, and to desire to know in what Place he would please to receive, and give it Audience. But as the Chamberlain had not had the Precaution to take the Primate's Passport, he was laid under an Arrest, as coming from an Enemy Prince.

1702.

*Augustus*  
sends one  
of his  
Chamber-  
lains to the  
King of  
Sweden.

The Embassy set out, and was composed of five Senators, the *Waiwode Galeski*, Count *Tarlo*, the two *Krispins*, and *Oginski*. They met the King of *Sweden* at *Dlagowietz*, some Miles on this side *Grodno*; for *Charles*, having left Garrisons in some Places of the Dutchy of *Lithuania*, had began his March towards *Poland*. That Prince gave Audience to the Ambassadors in his Tent. In their Discourse to him the Ambassadors desired he would not break the Treaty with the Republick, spare the Country, and permit them to treat with his Ministers. Count *Riper* answered in the Name of his Master, that their Proposals were agreeable; that *Charles* had not taken Arms but in the Defence of his Dominions against the Invasion of an Enemy; that his Conduct was founded in the Right of Nature and Nations; that he

1702. he was at the same time going to employ his Arms for the Repose and Safety of the Republick, and assured himself that all good *Poles* would act in concert with him.

*Charles* promised further to appoint Commissioners to treat with them, and named a Place for the holding those Conferences; but whether he believed it improper to delay his March, or did not find the Republick sufficiently inclined to enter into his Measures, he ordered them to be told, the Conferences should be held at *Warsaw*, and immediately began his March towards that Capital. Upon his way he published a Manifesto, in which he declared he would not quit the Kingdom, till the King of *Poland*, his and the Republick's Enemy, was returned to *Saxony*, and till his Successor was elected. He invited the *Poles* to join with him, and endeavoured to prove, that his and their Interest was the same.

After this publick Declaration he continued his March towards *Warsaw*, at the head of 10000 Men. The King had left it four Days before the Approach of the *Swedish* Army. He set out the 16th of *May*, and withdrew to *Cracow*; whither the Pope's Nuncio, the imperial Ministers, and those of the *Czar* followed him. A small number of Senators went also thither. Before his departure he had held a Council with them, in which it had been resolved, that

Who advances to  
*Warsaw*.

*Augustus*  
retires to  
*Cracow*.

that the Crown-Army should take the Field; that it should assemble the 26th of the instant Month of *May* near *Leopold*, and that the King might there join it with the 6000 *Saxons*, allowed him for his Guard by the *Pacta Conventa*; but it was insisted upon that they should be commanded by the Crown General, and that they should quit the Kingdom as soon as a Peace should be concluded; That *Augustus* should publish the Universalia for the assembling the Provincial Diets, in order to their supplying the Succours necessary in the present State of Affairs: That the King and Primate should desire the Powers, Guarantees of the Treaty of *Oliva*, and principally the Emperor, to interpose his good Offices for the concluding a Peace with the King of *Sweden*; and that they should agree to grant the Title of King of *Prussia* to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, which had been hitherto contested.

*Augustus*, before his leaving *Warsaw*, published his Universalia for assembling the *Pospolite* for the 22d of the Month, and sent Orders into *Saxony* for four Regiments of Foot, each of 1800 Men, and four Regiments of Horse of 1200 each, to march immediately to the Frontiers of *Silesia*. But before those Troops could possibly assemble, the King of *Sweden* was at the Gates of the Capital. The 23d he passed the *Vistula*,  
and

He summons the  
*Pospolite*.

1792. and went incognito to *Warsaw* to see the City; after which he returned to *Prague*, where the greatest part of his Army arrived the next Day. The 25th a Detachment passed the River, presented themselves before *Warsaw*, and summoned the Burghers to surrender the Place. The Commandant at first made some difficulty for form sake, but soon opened the Gates, and received the *Swedes*, who took the Posts every where. The few *Polish* Troops in the Citadel marched out, and were escorted to some distance upon their way.

*Warsaw*  
opens its  
Gates to  
the *Swedes*.

The Pri-  
mate  
writes to  
the K. of  
*Sweden*.

The Primate, who retired from *Warsaw* before *Augustus* left it, could not in decency avoid writing to King *Charles*, in regard to his having entered the Kingdom. That Prince returned an immediate Answer, and desired him to come to *Warsaw*, to confer with him upon the most convenient Measures for the re-establishment of the publick Tranquillity. The Primate, who would not yet take off the Mask, behaved much in the same manner as the Governor of *Warsaw* had done. He affected great difficulty in complying with *Charles's* Demand, and pretended that Prince must first grant him certain preliminary Circumstances; but consented at last to what he desired.

His Ex-  
cuse.

He had occasion for some Pretext to excuse this Behaviour, and was not at much pain to find it. He had recourse to *Perfidy*.  
He

He saw *Augustus* was reduced to such Extremities as to accept all Proposals, that gave him the least Prospect of an Accommodation. He went to wait on him, and insinuated that *Charles* was not averse to a reasonable Agreement. *Augustus*, who, as it was rumoured, had already gone so far as to ask Peace by the \* Countess of *Ceningsmark*, whom he had charged with a secret Commission to the *Swedish* Monarch, was far from rejecting such a Proposal. He consented that the Primate should go to *Warsaw*, with the Count *Leczinski*, Great Treasurer of the Crown, who had approved the Scheme for dethroning him.

1702.

Their Interview was at *Prague* with no great Ceremony, in a Chamber not so much as hung with Tapestry, and in the Presence of the Duke of *Holstein* *Charles's* Brother-in-law, Count *Piper* his first Minister, and several of his General Officers. The King advanced three Steps to receive the Primate, who made him a Compliment in *Latin*, to which Count *Piper* replied in *French*. After which the Conference began and lasted a quarter of an hour. They had others for several Days successively. The dethroning

His Interview with the King of Sweden.

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\* It was said that Countess, as much celebrated for Wit as Beauty, had been at the *Swedish* Camp, to open a secret Treaty of Peace, but that the King of *Sweden* would not so much as see her.

1702.  
Dethrone-  
ment of  
*Augustus*  
considered

*Augustus* was their principal Subject; and the King of *Sweden* declared that he would not quit *Poland* till he had driven *Augustus* entirely out of it, and given the *Poles* another King. The Primate, who saw this Declaration tended to the Completion of his Project, communicated it immediately to the *Palatinates*. He affected an extreme concern upon the occasion, but at the same time observed the Impossibility of disputing the Victor's Pleasure.

Obstacles  
to the K.  
of *Sweden*.

The Affairs of *Augustus* however were not so entirely desperate, and *Charles* had still a great deal of Business upon his hands, before he could assure himself of carrying things as he thought fit. It was necessary first to disperse the *Saxon* Army, which was come to its Master's Relief, and to reduce the *Palatinates* of *Cracow*, *Siradia*, *Sandomir*, *Wolbinia*, and *Great Poland*, who had declared for *Augustus*, and were far from approving an Enterprize, of which they had hitherto not so much as heard the least mention. For this Reason only the Success of a Battle could give the Superiority to the King of *Sweden*, or keep *Augustus* upon the Throne. The latter was so fully persuaded of this, that he sent Expresses perpetually to hasten the March of his *Saxon* Troops. As fast as they arrived he reviewed them in Person, recommending his Interests to them at the same time. He also

*Augustus*  
hastens  
the March  
of his  
Troops.

also published his *Universalia*, in which he ordered the whole Nobility to mount on horseback, and to join him upon pain of Confiscation of Fortune. He gave the same Command to the Crown-Army, and offered to pay them directly half a Year's Arrears.

The Nobility of the Palatinate of *Cracow* came in throngs to offer him their Service, and promised to shed the last Drop of their Blood to support him upon the Throne. The Crown-Army, or at least a Body of Troops under that Name, obeyed his Orders, and the *Saxon* Troops, who had marched with the utmost Diligence, were already arrived. They formed all together an Army of 22000 Men. Encouraged by this force, *Augustus* began his March in quest of the Enemy, whose Army he knew was not half so strong as his own. The two Kings met at *Cliffow* the 19th of *July*. General *Flemming* was advanced with a Detachment of 3000 Men, to observe the Enemy's Motions, and presently came up with their advanced Guard. He sent immediately to inform the King of *Poland*, who ordered him to halt, and not begin the Battle till the whole Army had joined him.

The King of *Sweden* began the Attack. He made his left Wing advance for the advantage of flanking the Right of *Augustus's* Army, composed of *Polish* Troops, and

A a

covered

1702.

And  
marches  
in quest of  
the Enemy

Who at-  
tacks him  
first.

1702.

covered in front by a Morass. *Charles*, at the head of his Guards, sprung forwards into the midst of the *Polish* Squadrons, who unable to stand the Shock, were forced to give way, and fell in among the *Saxon* Troops, whom they put into disorder. At the same time the left Wing, composed of the *Saxon* Troops, had attacked the Right of the *Swedes*, which received their first Fire without moving from their Ground. *Charles*, who already assured himself of Victory, flew to the Relief of his Troops. His Presence redoubled their Courage, and they drove upon the *Saxons* with such fury as made them give way. *Augustus* did all that could be expected from a Prince who fought for his Crown. He rallied his Troops several times, and charged at the head of them in Person, but was still repulsed with loss. He had 3500 Men killed or wounded, and lost forty two Pieces of Cannon, with all his Baggage. The *Swedes* had only about 1200 Men killed or wounded. The Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, Brother-in-law to the King of *Sweden*, was amongst the dead, his Back having been broke in the beginning of the Battle by a Cannon-shot.

His  
Troops  
beaten.

He is ob-  
liged to  
quit *Cra-*  
*cow*.

The Victor intent upon making the most of his Success, marched directly to *Cracow*, in pursuit of King *Augustus*, who was retired thither, and quitted that City when he



he was apprized of the *Swedes* approach. <sup>1702.</sup> On the 11th of *August* the Burghers were summoned to surrender, and in case of Refusal were threatened with the Cannon. The Magistrates did not think proper to wait the Execution, but opened their Gates, and received a numerous Garrison. The Commandant of the Citadel was a little more difficult, and was forced at last to surrender himself Prisoner of War. After which the Contribution was settled. The *Swedes* demanded 60000 Crowns which the City engaged to pay them. An Accident prevented *Charles's* further Pursuit of the *Saxons*. His Horse fell under him, and bruised his Thigh in such a manner as kept him six Weeks in bed.

The King of *Poland* took the Advantage <sup>Diet of</sup> of this Suspence to assemble a Diet at *Sendomir*; <sup>Sendomir.</sup> whither he went at the head of the Troops, who had fought at *Cliffow*, and who had been reinforced with 8000 Men, newly arrived from *Saxony*. A great part of the Arrierban of *Little Poland* were encamped there. The Assembly protested against the Dethronement, and sent Deputies to the *Palatinates* of *Great Poland*, to desire their Concurrence with the Resolutions that should be taken. After Deliberations sufficiently <sup>Resolutions taken</sup> long, it was resolved that Deputies should <sup>in it.</sup> be sent to the King of *Sweden*, with full Powers to conclude a Peace, and renew the

1702.

Treaty of *Oliva*. That the Crown-Army should be augmented to the same number of Troops as in the Year 1690; That the Nobility should be dispensed with from mounting on horseback, by furnishing a certain number of Men and Arms; and that if the Accommodation could not be agreed, *Augustus* should desire the Assistance of the neighbouring Princes: And to conclude, they all swore to employ their utmost Power and Fortune, their Blood and Lives, in defence of the Roman Catholick Faith, the Interest of King *Augustus*, the Maintenance of their Liberties and Privileges, and the Conservation of the Republick in all respects. They declared *Charles XII.* an Enemy to the State, and all such who persisted in his Party, or lent him any Assistance.

Troubles  
in the  
Kingdom.

But what was unfortunate for *Augustus*, was the Kingdom's not being unanimous in those favourable Sentiments for him. Disorder and Confusion increased daily, particularly in *Great Poland*, where the Nobility had been several times upon the point of coming to Blows with each other. Some demanded, that such a Confederacy as that of *Sandomir* should be entered into, in favour of the King of *Sweden*: Others would have it for the Liberty of the Republick, and some refused to declare for either Party. The King of *Poland* was afraid, that *Charles* observ-

observing the Diversity of Sentiments and Resolutions, might take occasion to object, <sup>1702.</sup> that the Embassy, which was to be sent him from the Republick, was not unanimously appointed, or sufficiently authorised; and refuse to treat upon that Pretext: He therefore determined to appoint a new Assembly of the Senators, which was summoned for the 22d of *September*, and was to be held at *Warsaw*. The Cardinal Primate who came there the 15th of the same Month had Audience the next Day of that Prince. He still affected a firm Adherence to the Interests of *Augustus*, who consented that he should send an Express to King *Charles* with Proposals of Peace.

The Primate in his Letter to *Charles* re- <sup>Primate's Letter to the K. of Sweden.</sup> calls to mind the Hope he had given him at their Interview, of hearkening to an Accommodation. He went on to observe, that he had no reason to complain of the want of a sufficient Satisfaction, that Fortune had been to the full as favourable to him as he could desire; that it was time at least, (not to say just) that Peace should return from exile to succeed the Miseries of War; that the Republick, weary of so melancholy a Scene, of which it was the horrid Theatre, sent him a second Deputation with full Powers to treat; That as this great Affair principally concerned the King of *Poland*, he thought it his Duty to inform his *Swe-*

1702. *disb* Majesty, that Prince had also appointed a Person to act for him in negotiating an happy Conclusion of it. Having then the Honour, continued he, of serving two great Kings on so delicate an occasion, your Majesty may be convinced I shall continue to act with like Zeal for Princes already inseparably united by the Ties of Blood. The Primate wrote also to Count *Piper*, who less interested than the Prelate in dissembling his true Sentiments, and those of the King his Master, made the Understanding between them sufficiently evident.

Resolutions of the Great Council at Warsaw The Great Council however, summoned by the King of *Poland*, was held at *Warsaw*. The Assembly was almost entirely composed of *Lithuanians*. The Primate excused himself from being present at it. They approved all that had been done in the Diet of *Sandomir*, and came to a Resolution to dispatch the Embassy to the King of *Sweden*. The Ambassadors were directed to acquaint that Prince, they were authorised by the whole Republick, and to demand an Audience in form, and a definitive Answer in regard to the Proposals of Peace. The Assembly broke up the 28th, and the Ambassadors who had received their Instructions, and taken an Oath that they would not be corrupted, set out on their way to the King of *Sweden*.

That

That Prince was still at *Cracow*. The <sup>1702.</sup> Ambassadors upon their Arrival near the City, stopped upon the Estate of the <sup>Repub-</sup> *Wode of Mazovia*, and sent *Towrianski* their <sup>lick's Am-</sup> Secretary, to know when he would be pleas- <sup>bassadors</sup> ed to give them Audience. The Letter <sup>wrote to</sup> was wrote by the Palatine of *Mazovia*, <sup>the K. of</sup> chief of the Embassy. *Charles* immediately <sup>Sweden.</sup> returned an Answer not in the least expected. He declared, that as he did not think it just to condemn the Interposition of the Republick, in case it proceeded from their good Intention, so it was necessary before he could accept its Mediation, to have Assurances of its not having failed in affection to the Crown of *Sweden*: That for his part, tho' he had been under the Necessity of entering *Poland* in pursuit of an Enemy, from whom he had received the greatest Injuries, he could not however reproach himself with having committed any Hostilities against the Republick: That notwithstanding many things had been attempted to his prejudice, very remote from what might be expected from a Nation in amity and alliance with him; for which reason to remove suspicion, it was proper that it should be explained by whose Counsels the War had began, by what Authority the Crown-Army had not long before taken Arms against him at the Battle of *Cliffow*; by whose Orders the *Polish* Troops daily

That  
Prince's  
Answer.

1702.

committed Hostilities against his Soldiers; and by whose Advice Intrigues were perpetually carried on against him in foreign Courts. If all this, continued he, be done by the publick Authority, I leave your Excellency to judge whether the Republick, being itself a Party, can take upon it the Right of treating of Peace and Mediation.

Dilemma  
of the Re-  
publick.

The Case was difficult enough. It was not easy to decide whether the Republick was at War or Peace with *Sweden*. It was certain however, that a great part of the Republick had engaged in the Quarrel, and taken Arms against the *Swedes*. If it could be said the Republick was included in the small number of its Members, who were pacifick, neutral, and disarmed, they must have granted that *Poland* was no more than the Shadow of a Republick: If on the contrary, it consisted of the greater number of its Lords and Nobility, it had taken Party, and was from thenceforth incapable of the Mediation. In regard to *Charles's* Complaint, that they had taken Arms against him, at a time when he was pursuing his Enemy, without committing any Hostilities against the Republick, nothing could be more unhappy. Was not the Republick in the right to take Arms, and to act offensively when it saw a foreign Prince enter *Poland* at the head of an Army, and take possession of the principal Cities of the  
King-

Kingdom? Whatever Professions he might make of coming thither only as a Friend, were they obliged to take his Word, and did not good Policy require they should endeavour to repel so dangerous a Guest? 1702.

The King of *Sweden's* Answer to the Ambassadors having been remitted to *Warsaw*, a new Council of the Senate was held, at which the Primate still refused to assist. New Council of the Senate.

They did not fail however coming to a Resolution to let *Charles* know, that the Embassy sent him was authorized by the whole Republick, and ordered the Ambassadors to demand Audience again, and to insist upon his positive Answer. But *Charles* refused to see the Deputies, and being recovered from his fall, his sole Attention was to pursue his first Design. He put himself at the Head of his Army, and leaving 2000 Men in Garrison at *Cracow*, took his march along the *Vistula*, upon which he embarked part of his Foot, and all his Cannon and Ammunition. In that Order he advanced to the Side of *Warsaw* at the Head of 25000 Men, by slow Marches, because the *Vistula* was then very low. King of Sweden pursues his Enemy.

Upon the first news of the *Swedes* March, the King of *Poland* left *Warsaw*, where he was with four Regiments of Foot and Dragoons, and went to join his *Saxon* Troops quartered in *Prussia*. He arrived at *Thorn* the 6th of *November* where he summoned a Council Augustus quits Warsaw.

1702.  
Assembles  
a Great  
Council at  
Thorn.

Council of the Senate for the 29th of the same Month, and immediately set out secretly from *Dresden*. He returned time enough to be present at that Council, at which neither the Primate, the Great General of Poland, the Palatine of *Mazovia*, nor many other Senators assisted. The Assembly were divided from the first. The Deputies of *Great Poland* were for adhering to the Resolutions of the Assembly of *Sandomir*, and those of *Little Poland* demanded their Conformity to a Confederacy which they had made at *Colo* upon the *Warta* in favour of King *Augustus*. At length however they agreed to let *Charles* know that the Republick accepted the Emperor's Mediation; and to declare War upon him in case he should refuse to treat. The Counts *Zinzendorf* and *Stratman*, Imperial Ministers, had for some time apply'd to the King of *Poland*, and sometimes to the King of *Sweden* to incline them to an Accommodation. *Augustus* had not only accepted the Mediation, but to facilitate the Peace had detached 8000 of his Troops to his Imperial Majesty.

This was a Circumstance of no advantage to *Augustus*, and Count *Zinzendorf* advertised *Charles* of it to no purpose, That Prince determined to pursue his Enemy to the utmost, would hearken to no Proposals. Count *Piper* his first Minister, gave for Answer that his Master was always in Motion, and could

Which the  
King of  
*Sweden*  
refuses.



could not give Audience upon that Subject. <sup>1702.</sup>  
*Charles* was in reality always on horseback after his Wound was cured. His chief Employment was however in raising Contributions from all the Places where his Troops could find entrance. They were indeed moderate enough upon those who made no resistance, but very high to them who expressed the least Attachment to the Interest of *Augustus*. <sup>who raises Contributions.</sup>

Count *Steinbock*, who commanded a Body of Troops near *Leopold*, acted in the same manner. About the End of *December* he notified to the Senators and principal Lords of *Polish Russia*, that they must declare what Party they would take; and as the *Waywode* of *Wolbomia* expressed himself a zealous Adherent of the King of *Poland*, *Steinbock* sent him with his Wife and Children Prisoners to *Przemyśl*.

Some time before King *Augustus* had laid the *Sieur Heron* Envoy Extraordinary from *France* to *Poland*, and the *Sieur Bonac*, Envoy from the same Court to the King of *Sweden*, under Arrest. <sup>Two Envoys of France in Poland laid under Arrest;</sup> The first, for not having taken any notice of Orders twice sent him to quit the Dominions of *Poland*. That Minister pretended to continue in the Kingdom, as being sent to the Republick as well as to the King. He was arrested and sent to *Waryaw* the 10th of *November* at Night, with a Detachment of *Saxon* Troops. From thence he was conducted to *Thorn*, and afterwards

1703: } terwards over the Frontiers of the Kingdom.  
 The Grand Marshal of the Crown had indeed protested against such Treatment of him, and declared that it was without the Republick's participation, which did not hinder the King of *France* from confining all the *Poles* then at *Paris*.

Com-  
 plaint of  
 the Court  
 of *France*.

The Affair did not stop there. Towards the Beginning of the Year 1703, the Cardinal Primate received two Letters from the Marquis de *Torcy*, who complained in most lively terms of a Violence committed against the Law of Nations, and demanded in the Name of the King his Master, whether the two Envoys of *France* had been put under Arrest by the Republick's Consent, and what Measures they intended to take for the Satisfaction of his most Christian Majesty. Some Assemblies held in the *Palatinate* of *Russia*, had wrote to the Primate to desire he would inform the Court of *France*, that the Republick had no Share in the seizing those Ministers.

Primate's  
 pert Letter  
 to the  
 King.

The Primate wrote to the King of *Poland* upon that Occasion in terms sufficiently warm. " I am under the greatest Concern  
 " said he, to find my self obliged to divide  
 " the Republick and its Head in this Af-  
 " fair, by disclaiming a *Violence* in which  
 " it had no Share. I cannot carry my *Com-  
 " plaisance* so far as to *dissemble* my Sense,  
 " and least of all to approve an Action uni-  
 " versally condemned." After having de-  
 plored

explored the sad Condition of *Poland*, become the Theatre of War, and doomed to suffer for Faults in which it had no other Part. 1703.  
 “ *Sad Experience*, added he, ought to make  
 “ your Majesty sensible of the *Ignorance of*  
 “ *those blind Guides*, who instead of *conduct-*  
 “ *ing You to the Temple of Glory*, have made  
 “ you take a quite different Path.”

Whether *Augustus* had already begun to <sup>King's</sup> suspect the Primate's Conduct, or was of- <sup>Answer.</sup> fended at the Liberty of his Expressions, his Resentment appeared in his Answer. After having put him in mind that the Laws of the Kingdom knew no distinct Authority in the Person of the Archbishop Primate, but in the *Interregnum* only. “ I perceive  
 “ by your Counsels, said he, ironically,  
 “ Your Zeal for our Service, a Zeal so ex-  
 “ cessive, that it has transported you into  
 “ the discovery of *Violence* and Precipitati-  
 “ on in my Conduct.” He went on to observe, that no Laws obliged him to account for his Actions to any Persons whatsoever, but only to the Republick in Diet assembled, of which his Person alone composed the first Estate; and that upon the Dissolution of the Diet, the Authority of the Republick vested in him alone. He did not however omit to inform the Primate of his Motives for arresting the two Envoys of *France*. He insinuated, that the Marquis *Heron* had been seized for having held Discourses against  
 him

1703. him, of which Accounts had been sent to his most Christian Majesty; and the *Sieat Bonac* for want of the necessary Passports. Besides added he, I beg you, my very good Cousin, to use neither *Complaisance* nor *Disimulation* upon my Account, who love neither the one nor the other of those Characteristicks. Let us both act according to the inviolable Laws of the Kingdom, which admit no *Separation between the Head and the Body* of the Republick. All *Separations* are dangerous and always pernicious to their Author. Let us unite rather in remedying the Misfortunes which the too great Discord has drawn upon the Nation, and to which a Salutory Union may easily put an End. *Sad Experience* may make you understand, good Cousin, the *Ignorance and Malice of blind Guides*, who under false Appearances, instead of conducting our Country to the *Temple of Concord* and *Tranquillity*, betray it into Disorder and Ruin.

About the same Time the Primate received a Letter from the Diet of *Great Poland*, exhorting him to employ the Authority his Dignity gave him in putting an End to the Troubles of the Kingdom. The artful Primate intent upon making the most of every Thing that favoured his Designs, took occasion from this Letter to assemble a kind of Council of the Senate at *Warsaw*. To this purpose he wrote circular Letters to  
all

all the Senators and Ambassadors appointed to negotiate the Peace between *Poland* and *Sweden*. He lamented in those Letters the Insensibility of the *Poles*, who with surprising Indifference could see the Ruin of their Country, in which there seemed no longer either Law, Justice, Liberty, Valour, or in a word any Resemblance of their ancient Virtue. He complained that nothing appeared every where but Weakness and an abject Spirit, and that People kept at home as if they were unconcerned in the Desolation of their Country, which was become a prey to foreign Troops and the Contempt of its Neighbours. He added he had been sometime before at *Warsaw* to consult with the Pope's Nuncio and the foreign Ministers, upon proper Means to redress so many Evils, but was informed that Success was impossible, if the *Poles* did not contribute to their own Preservation. That therefore in discharge of his Conscience, and to express his Zeal for the good of the Republick, which he could not suffer to expose itself any longer to intire Destruction, and by virtue of the Authority his Dignity gave him, he summoned to *Warsaw* for the 15th of *February* all the Senators, and especially those deputed to treat with the King of *Sweden*, in order to consider proper Measures for the Preservation

1703.  
Primate  
summons  
a Great  
Council  
upon his  
own Au-  
thority.

1703. vation of the Republick, upon the very  
brink of its utter Ruin.

Few of the  
Senators  
came to  
it.

Very few of the Senators had been present at the Assembly summoned by the King to *Thorn*, and not so many came to this assembled by the Primate. Some refused absolutely to admit that the Primate had any Right to appoint particular Assemblies during the King's Life: Others excused themselves, because whilst the *Swedes* were in possession of the Citadel of *Warsaw*, the Liberty of Voting could not subsist in the Assembly; so that for want of a sufficient number of Senators to give the necessary force to their Resolutions, the Primate referred the Assembly to another Time. But he used a Precaution which gave him reason to hope they would be more ready to comply with his Desires for the future. He published a Letter which the King of *Sweden* had wrote him; as it had had been concerted between them. *Charles* tells him in it, that after having waited long, as no Remedy appeared capable of putting an End to the Troubles, which had kept his Arms till then in the Kingdom, he declared again that he had nothing more at heart than to receive proper Counsels for the Attainment of that End: That he should be glad a speedy Expedient could be found to procure as well the Tranquillity of *Poland*, as the Advantage  
and

King of  
*Sweden's*  
Letter  
published  
by the Pri-  
mate.

and Security of *Sweden*; but that as it was <sup>1703.</sup> in vain to expect to succeed in that Desire, in a Place where Hatred, Envy, Hope, Fear, and the Animosity of Parties had entirely banished the Freedom of speaking, he thought nothing could be more salutary in so difficult a Conjuncture than to summon an Assembly, in which the Nation being perfectly free, might explain it self with entire Confidence, and take proper Measures to re-establish a solid and lasting Tranquillity.

The King of *Poland's* Affairs seemed to <sup>*Augustus's*</sup> have a more promising Aspect. Some Pro- <sup>Affairs</sup>vinces, of which *Wolbinia* was one, sent <sup>seem to</sup> their Deputies to him at *Marienburg*, where he had been from the 4th of *February*, to assure him of their Fidelity, and Zeal for the Defence of his Person, and the Safety of the Republick. The Deputies had at the same time intreated him to publish the *Universalia* for assembling a General Diet, but *Augustus* foresaw, that as Affairs then stood, a General Diet could not <sup>Summons</sup> be held without exposing the Nobility to <sup>a Great</sup> fatal Divisions, and chose rather to sum- <sup>Council</sup>mon a new Council of the Senate. Besides <sup>to Thorn.</sup> which he had another Advantage: The Crown-Army had given him Assurances of its Fidelity; the General Officers, and even the Troops had made a new Confederacy

1703.

in his favour, and engaged themselves by Oath to shed the last Drop of their Blood in his Service.

Which he transfers to *Marienburg*.

The *Senatus Concilium* was at first summoned to meet at *Thorn* the 16th of *March*, but for their better convenience the King transferred it to *Marienburg*. The circular Letters dispatched for that Purpose imported, that it would not be difficult for the Senate to penetrate the Truth, thro' all the Artifices that had been used to deceive them; that without taking notice of the Contrivances of certain Persons, ill-affected to the Head and Members of the Republick, the King of *Sweden's* Letter might suffice to convince them, that his only Aim was to excite the Nobility, to take Resolutions contrary to the Good of the Republick. In them, continued he, an ambiguous and equivocal Stile is most evident, and the affected Professions of Amity, under the delusive Appearance of Peace, intend only to lull the Republick into a false Security.

King of *Sweden* offended.

The Gall which prevailed in those Letters, gave the King of *Sweden* a proportionate Resentment, and entirely suppressed his slight Inclinations for Peace, with which the Ministers of *Vienna*, *England* and *Holland* had inspired him; and the Articles delivered to the *Senatus Concilium* for their Consideration, enraged him so much, that he



he was unable to conceal his Indignation. Amongst other things it was demanded in those Articles, What Measures should be taken for the Punishment of the Favourers and Adherents of *Sweden*.

1703.

*Augustus* had regained the Affection of many of the Senators by his Caresses and Promises, so that the Assembly at *Marienburg* was numerous, and favourable to his Interests. Amongst the Resolutions taken there it was agreed, that the Republick having suffered exceedingly from the *Swedes*, and been harrassed as much or more by them, than by declared Enemies, it was no longer consistent to regard them, but as such. They confirmed the Resolutions of the Diet of *Sandomir*, for uniting the Minds and Arms of the People against the King of *Sweden* and his Adherents. They decreed, that the whole Nobility and a General Diet should be summoned to assemble in open Field: That the Assembly, summoned by the Primate at *Warsaw*, should be held illegal: That the Generals of the Army should be desired to stand to their Arms, and oppose the Violences of the *Swedes*. A General Confederacy was also resolved for the Safety of the King and Republick; but this Article was far from passing without opposition. The *Lithuanians*, who at first seemed most ardent for

Resolutions of the Great Council of *Marienburg*.

1703. the Confederacy, drew back exceedingly, when they found the absolute Disposal of the House of *Sapieha's* Offices would not be granted them, and that on the contrary almost all the Voices favoured a Reconciliation with that Family.

Primate's  
Pretence:

A small number of the Senators refused to sign those Resolutions, and the Primate upon being apprized of them, pretended that Reparation ought to be made him for the Injury done his Authority. He maintained, that in the present Conjunction of the Nation's Affairs, he had a Power, and it was his duty to consult with the Republick without the King's Participation. He appointed the 16th of *April* for the meeting of the Assembly, summoned before to *Warsaw*, and expected the Senators would come thither when their Council at *Marienburg* should break up. *Augustus* himself seemed to apprehend This, which was no doubt his Motive for protracting that Council. Thus the King and the Cardinal formed two different Parties in *Poland*.

Two Parties in *Poland*.

Those Parties were also so opposite, that they denied each other the Right to act in the Name of the Republick. *Augustus* did not acknowledge the Primate to have any Authority, and the Primate looked upon the Resolutions of the several Councils, held by the King, not to have the Republick's  
Con-

Concurrence, of which he gave a sensible Instance, when the Deputies for the Peace arrived at *Warsaw*. He declared, they ought not to be deemed the Deputies of the Republick, as they had received their Orders from the Assembly of *Marienburg*, that Assembly having declared for King *Augustus* against the King of *Sweden*, which he pretended the Republick had not done, and could not do.

Such Pretences had no other Intention than to dispel the Hopes of Peace, which the Negotiations of the Ministers of *Vienna*, *England* and *Holland* had given. Every thing seemed to express that the two Kings would endeavour in the Spring to drive one another out of *Poland*. *Augustus*, always in alliance with the *Czar*, solicited his Aid, who promised to send a Body of 100000 *Muscovites* into *Lithuania*. If those Promises had been made good, the King of *Poland* would have had 150000 Men at his disposal. The Crown-Army, and that of General *Oginski* made together 35000 Men, and the *Saxon* Army were at least 15000.

All this was not capable of terrifying the King of *Sweden*, or making him think of Peace and a Retreat. He kept quiet in his Camp, except that after having subsisted his Army in one part of *Poland*, he re-

1703. moved it to another. *Augustus* and the *Polish* Generals acted almost in the same manner, in respect to quartering the *Crown* and *Saxon* Army. It might have been said that the Ruin of *Poland* had been concerted between the two Parties.

New Declaration  
of that  
Prince.

It has been observed, that the King of *Sweden* was much offended at the Resolutions taken in the Assembly at *Marienburg*, and People were surprized that a Prince, not naturally apt to conceal his Resentment, did not give some Proofs of it. But he deferred it for a better occasion of explaining himself. He was preparing a new Declaration, upon which the Success of his Projects depended. As soon as it was ready he sent it to the *Primate*, with whom he had secretly conferred some time before. It contained his Sentiments, or rather his Will in respect to the Affairs of the Republick, and signified amongst other things, mentioned in preceding Memorials: That his *Swedish* Majesty had just Reasons not to confide in the King of *Poland*: That three Years were elapsed, without his being able to procure the Satisfaction he had a Right to demand from him: That altho' he had professed upon several Occasions, that he had the Glory of his Arms less at heart, than the Repose of the People, in demanding a General Diet to be summoned, (the  
most

most proper Means to pacify the Troubles of *Poland*, as conformable to its Laws and Customs;) *Augustus* nevertheless far from approving that Method, had opposed it with the Council of *Marienburg*, whose Resolutions were directly contrary to the Design of it: That that Prince believing he had all things to fear from a Diét, where every one might speak his Sense with freedom, endeavoured by Protractions to oppress the Liberty of the Republick: That as the Resolutions of the Council of *Marienburg* had no other Foundation than those of the Assembly at *Sandomir*, composed only of a few *Palatinates*, it was ridiculous to pretend it represented the whole Nation: That it was in vain for it to offer its Mediation between the two Kings, that Office belonging only to the whole Body of the Republick: That his *Swedish* Majesty having already refused to give Audience to the Deputies of *Sandomir*, could not receive those of *Marienburg*, who were no better authorised, and tho' they had been so, it could not be expected they were charged with any Proposals sincerely tending to Peace, coming as they did from a Council which breathed nothing but War: That this obliged him not to enter upon a Treaty, without being first assured of a previous Satisfaction: That he would not op-

1703.

pose a Peace by which his Honour should not suffer, and which would procure the Safety of the two Nations in such a Manner, that the Tranquillity of the one might secure the Tranquillity of the other: That the Interests of *Sweden*, and those of the Republick being so much the same, it was necessary they should also agree in their Sentiments: That there was no surer means to the Attainment of that end, than to assemble a General and Free Diet, where all Parties might explain themselves at large. That if the Diet were summoned by the Care and under the Authority of the Primate, his *Swedish* Majesty was ready to comply with such reasonable Proposals as should be made; and that otherwise he would take suitable Measures to prevent his being imposed upon by so many Delays.

Primate  
sends it to  
the King.

The Primate, who, notwithstanding all he had done, affected still to appear impartial, immediately sent this Declaration to the King of *Poland*, whom the reading of it confirmed in the Resolution already taken of holding a General Diet. But the King of *Sweden* without waiting an Answer, prepared to attack the *Saxon* Army encamped at *Pultusk*. He began his March at the head of his Horse, which passed the *Bug* on the 30th of *April*, fording and swimming

swimming the River; most of the Horse carrying a Fusilier behind them. Tho' the Saxons had notice of his March and Time to draw up in Battle, he broke their Ranks and put them into such Disorder, that in their haste to get off, they threw themselves into the *Narew*, where a great Number of them perished. Six hundred of them were left upon the Field, and 1000 more made Prisoners. General *Steinau* who commanded, escaped himself with the greatest Difficulty. All the Cannon and Baggage fell into the hands of the *Swedes*. *Charles* after this Expedition marched into *Prussia* towards *Thorn*, where the Saxons had raised a new Fort, encamped some Miles from the City, which he blockaded and put a Garrison into the Castle of *Graudentz*, and into the little Town of *Stratzburgh*.

1703.  
Battle of  
*Pultusk*.

*Thorn*  
blockad-  
ed.

As the Advantage gained by the *Swedes* at *Pultusk* was not decisive, it altered nothing in the principal Affairs. The Council assembled at *Warsaw* by the Primate, took occasion from it to express more Attachment than usual to the King's Person. It declared, that whether the Council of *Marienburg* was or was not a Consequence of that of *Sandomir*, which some People apprehended its only view was to re-establish the Tranquillity of the Kingdom; that there-  
fore

Resolutions of the  
Great  
Council  
summon'd  
by the Pri-  
mate.

1703. ~~fore~~ it was necessary to lay aside all Scruples, and to proceed in earnest to a Peace by setting such a Treaty on foot, as might be advantageous both to *Poland* and *Sweden*; but as the most inviolable Principle with the Republick was the Liberty they had always enjoyed, they could not entertain a Thought, during the King's Life, of a new Election under the least Shadow of Compulsion, and especially after that Prince's Declaration upon Oath, never to attempt any thing for the future against the Privileges of the Nation, or without the Privy of the Republick: That in Consequence there could be no justice in opposing a Confederacy of so many *Palatinates*, who had engaged their Lives and Fortunes for the Defence of the King, and that far from hearkening to so unheard of a Proposal as a Dethronement, the Council in the Name of the Republick protested against it in the most solemn manner; and were ready to be Guarantees for the King's inviolable future Observance of the Treaty of *Oliva*.

Complain-  
ed of by  
the King  
of *Sweden*.

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These Resolutions were far from being agreeable to King *Charles*, and Count *Piper* complained of them to the Primate by his Order. That Minister told him, that the Assembly's proceedings would not engage his Master to comply with the Measures they



they seemed to have in view, unless it were expedient for the Safety of the Republick: But as the Assembly appeared to agree with the King his Masters in disapproving and condemning all the King of *Poland* had done in regard to the War, and thought themselves obliged to take Measures for preventing any thing of the like Nature for the future, his *Swedish* Majesty thought it necessary to ask the Republick what Reasons they could have to assure themselves of that Effect? Notwithstanding, added he, as his Majesty having no other view but the pursuit of his Enemy, has always carefully avoided doing the least Injury to the Republick, having even suffered Things very little to be expected from a Prince in Arms, he has commanded me to declare, that whilst he is not attacked he shall retain a sincere Friendship for those who continue in Peace with him, but that if the *Poles* or Crown-Army interfere in the War, he cannot avoid regarding such Behaviour as actual Hostility, and shall endeavour to return it in proportion to the Injury done him.

Some Days after the Receipt of this Answer, the Primate and Council assembled at *Warsaw* by his Orders, sent the *Sieur Tzowianski* to the King of *Sweden* with new Letters and Resolutions. But as they included

New Resolutions sent to that Prince.

1793. cluded nothing more Satisfactory than had been proposed by the former Council; he was contented with answering, that as the Republick might come to different Resolutions in the approaching Diet from those they had hitherto taken, he chose to expect the Result of it.

Who justifies himself from the Infraction of Truce.

However as the King of *Poland* was for making the Action of *Pultusk* an Infraction of Truce, *Charles* directed Count *Piper* to write again to the Primate, to justify him against that Imputation. He proved, that there was not only no Truce subsisting, but that the King had not so much as consented to accept the Mediation of any foreign Minister. Besides which he affirmed, that after the Battle of *Pultusk*, among General *Steinau's* Papers the King of *Poland's* Orders were found, by which that General was commanded to fight the *Swedes*, whenever he should find the Opportunity favour him.

Artifice of the Primate.

The Primate's Answer to this Letter did not regard any Circumstance contained in it. Another Motive employed his Pen. He intended to be present at the General Diet, which the King of *Poland* had summoned to *Lublin* for the 19th of *June*, and would have been glad to have first illuded the Umbrage, which the King and many of the Senate had taken at his Conduct. With this

1703.

this View he made most pressing Instances to King *Charles* to enter into a Treaty. He represented that the Republick was upon the point of assembling in a Diet, that could not be looked upon as partial, and intreated him to withdraw his Troops immediately from before the Town of *Thorn*, which he had blockaded some time. Tho' those Remonstrances and Intreaties were no more than feint to conceal the badness of his real Intentions, the Artifice succeeded. He found Means to have his Letter intercepted, which was carried to *Lublin*, and believed to express his real Sentiments. There was no occasion for any thing further, to reinstate him in the favour of the greatest part of those, who had been most offended at his Conduct.

He arrived there the 25th of *June*, and found the Diet had opened the 19th in the King's Presence. He carried with him a great number of Gentlemen, and was met on his way by part of the Nobility assembled at *Lublin*. The Diet shewed him also so much Deference, as to return his intercepted Letter under Seal: But when he desired Audience of the King, it was refused him by some of the Lords, till he had taken the same Oath the other Senators had sworn in the Assemblies of *Sandomir* and *Marienburg*. They added even some

He comes to the Diet at *Lublin*.  
Oath required of him.  
Clauses

1703.

Clauses to it, viz. That he had not called in the *Swedes*; that he had not supported their Interest; that he had not undertaken any thing against the King, and would undertake nothing for the future against that Prince. *Augustus*, who had some knowledge of the Primate's Intrigues, thought fit to dispense with all those Clauses except the last, which he made no difficulty to swear. All the other Senators who had not yet taken that Oath, followed the Primate's Example.

After these Advances it was not doubted but the Diet's Resolutions would be conformable to the King's Desire. There were however several Debates, which made it necessary to prolong the Assembly three Days. Their Determinations were concluded at one Sitting, which lasted without interruption from eight in the Morning *July* 9th till two in the Afternoon of next Day; the King being present the whole Night. Those Resolutions were comprised in six Articles. The first decreed, that the

Diet's Resolutions.

Crown Army should be augmented to 36000 Men, and that of *Lithuania* to 12000, including the *Saxon* Auxiliaries, who were to be paid by the Republick and commanded by the Crown General. For the Maintenance of those Armies, a Crown Head was to be levied on all the Jews in the

# Book IV. under AUGUSTUS II.

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the Kingdom; and a Duty to be laid on all kinds of Liquor. By the second Article six Weeks were to be allowed the King of *Sweden*, to declare his Resolutions for War or Peace. The third imported, that the Princes of the House of *Sapieha* should be indulged in six Weeks time to return to their Duty, and to come in and beg Pardon of the King upon the Hope of being restored to their Dignities and Estates; in default of which they were to be totally deprived and declared Traitors to their Country. According to the fourth Article, all People were forbid to propose the De-thronement of the King. The fifth expressed, that if the King of *Sweden* would not agree to a Peace upon reasonable Terms, and it should be necessary to continue the War, the King should be authorised to make such Alliances with foreign Powers as he should judge convenient. And by the last, to satisfy the King of *Prussia's* Claim upon *Elbing*, a Crown was to be raised upon the lesser Mills, two upon the greater, and three upon every Water-Mill throughout the Kingdom.

1703

Of these six Articles an Act was prepared in form of Constitution, importing the General Union of the Members of the Republick, under the Title of *The Protest and mutual Agreement of the several Orders of* the

General  
Union of  
the Mem-  
bers of the  
Repub-  
lick.

1703.

*the Kingdom.* After which they went to the Jesuits Church, where the *Te Deum* was sung with the Service of Thanksgiving.

New Powers given the Republic's Commissioners.

Tho' the Diet had taken the necessary Measures for the Defence of the Republic, it had not however abandoned Negotiation: On the contrary Commissioners were appointed with Instructions to neglect nothing that might promote the Treaty if possible. The Primate, who had just sworn with so much facility not to undertake any Thing against the King, seemed for some Time to approve the Sentiments of the Diet. Upon his Arrival at *Warsaw*, he assembled the Republic's Commissioners. His whole Discourse was Peace and Concord, and of acting in concert with them; and he wrote to the King of *Sweden* to press him to conclude a Peace. But that Prince who knew the Instances of the Primate were only designed to conceal his Correspondence with *Sweden*, made him an Answer equally Equivocal. He complained of the *Poles* Delay, of the Trouble and Regret it gave him, and declared himself entirely inclined to Peace, provided the Proposals were suitable.

Difficulty of making suitable Proposals.

There lay the Difficulty. Whatever Conditions could be made to a Prince inflexible in his Projects, it was reasonable to expect

pect an Answer grown familiar with him; The Security was not to be depended upon, nor the Satisfaction sufficient. The Ministers of *Vienna, England and Holland*, had a better Opinion of *Charles's* Sincerity from the Appearances, and when they saw him declare an Inclination for Peace, they redoubled their Applications to reconcile the Difference. They went to *Augustus* and got his Consent to send their Secretaries to the King of *Sweden*, to prevail upon him to treat; but it was impossible to get any other Answer from King *Charles* than what he had given before to the Primate, and the Republic's Commissioners. He only added, that he expected those Commissioners would send him their Proposals in writing, and that it would then appear it was no fault of his if the Peace of *Poland* were not re-established.

Good Policy would not admit the Commissioners to neglect this last Resource for the Accommodation. They went to the *Swedish* Camp before *Thorn*, and delivered their Proposals in writing. They consisted of seven Articles, by which among other things the Republic engaged, that as soon as the Peace should be concluded, all foreign Troops should quit *Poland*, and the King of *Poland* and his Successors be restrained from making any foreign Alliance with-

Proposals  
of the Re-  
publick's  
Commis-  
sioners.

1703.

out the Privy of the Republick: That Care should be taken, that neither the King nor his Successors should commit any Hostilities upon the *Swedish* Dominions, nor grant passage thro' those of the Republick to any Prince's Troops at War with *Sweden*; and that neither the King nor his Successors should supply Men, Money, or any other Aids, to the Enemies of that Crown.

Why re-  
jected by  
the King  
of *Sweden*.

Those Proposals were of a Nature not to be rejected, if the Republick had acted in Concert and with the good Understanding necessary to support them. But the little Union among the *Poles* gave *Charles* room to except to those Articles. He objected, that they did not express either the Reparation for the Damages done him during the War, the Re-establishment of the *Sapiebas* or the Security for the Performance of the Treaty when concluded; Three Points which sufficiently discovered, that *Charles* desired nothing less than the Peace so much talked of in his Letters.

Confederacy of  
Great *Poland*.

About this Time the Nobility of *Great Poland* entered into a Confederacy, to prevent the Ruin of their Country, and to maintain their Liberties. The King of *Sweden* attentive to every Occasion, which might favour his Designs, took the Advantage of this Circumstance to invite the  
rest



rest of *Poland*, into that Confederacy. He conceived that if he could effect a Division between the Republick and its Head, it would be no difficulty to go on to the Dethronement he intended. With this View he published a Manifesto, wherein he declared highly for the Confederacy. He insinuated, that it consisted of the most prudent Persons of the State whom he took under his Protection, and exhorted to persist in the Resolution they had taken. On the other side he declared, that he should regard all those as Enemies, who continued to adhere to King *Augustus*, and refused to confederate in favour of the Liberty of the Republick; and threatened to treat them with the utmost Rigour, laying all the ill Consequences and Misfortunes that might ensue to their Charge.

1793.

King of Sweden publishes a Manifesto.

This Manifesto encouraged the Confederacy. They appointed Deputies to demand Peace from the King of *Sweden*, who received them graciously, and ordered them an Answer to their Demands in writing. After having given great praises to the Resolution of the confederated Nobility, he represented the Necessity of re-establishing a solid and lasting Peace in the Kingdom of *Poland*, and a firm and inseparable Union between *Sweden* and the

Which encourages the Confederacy.

1703.

Affairs of  
*Augustus*  
on an ill  
foot.

Republick; but observed, that those Advantages were only to be expected from the Dethronement of *Augustus*.

*Augustus* was so enraged at this Proceeding of the Confederates, that he declared he would look upon them for the future only as Rebels, and treat them as such upon all Occasions. All he could do was to threaten. Besides the Nobility of Great Poland, those of the *Palatinates* of *Culm*, *Marienburg*, *Pomerania*, *Dobrzin*, *Brzescia*, *Cujavia* and several other Places, joined the Confederacy. Every Day he saw himself abandoned by some Lord whom he thought most firm in his Interest; and to add to his Distress, the Crown-Army expressed no great Zeal for his Service; his *Saxon* Troops seemed afraid to look an Enemy in the Face, who had more than once beat and put them to flight; and for himself, whether he thought it adviseable to remove from the Neighbourhood of his Adversary, or suspected the Primate's Counsels, who desired him not to absent himself, that he might be in readiness to answer such Proposals as might be made him; It seemed his Intention to secure himself an *Asylum* in projecting a Journey to *Saxony*.

Success of  
*Charles*.

On the contrary every thing went to *Charles's* Wish. His Troops augmented daily.

daily by Reinforcements from Sweden. 1703  
 The Swedish Soldiers flushed with so many Advantages, desired nothing so much as a decisive Battle that might put their Prince into a Condition of giving the Law, and Charles got ground every Day thro' the Terror of the Swedish Name, or the continual Success of his Arms.

The 22d of September, that Prince's Army being reinforced with new Troops from Sweden, began the Siege of Thorn. Who makes himself Master of Thorn.  
 The 24th the Batteries being ready, he made so great a fire with his Cannon and Mortars, that in a few Days the greatest part of the Houses were either beat down or reduced to Ashes. The Governor however held out till the 14th of October; when he was forced to surrender at Discretion. Of a Garrison consisting of 5000 Men, when the Blockade begun only 2000 marched out, and of those the greatest part were sick. Charles honoured in the Governor and Commandant of the Place the Valour they had shewn during the Siege, and ordered their Swords to be returned them, kept them to Dinner with him, and gave the first 2000 Crowns to buy him new Equipage. The Inhabitants to redeem their Walls, and the Gates of their City, agreed to pay 40000 Crowns.

1703.

Refusal of  
the City  
of Dant-  
zick pu-  
nished.

About two Months before the Surrender of *Thorn*, Count *Steinbock* had demanded passage of the City of *Dantzick* for 6000 *Swedes* that were arrived from *Sweden*, and intended to reinforce the Army before *Thorn*. The Magistracy made at first some Difficulties, which were looked upon as a Refusal. The *Swedish* General, who had with him fourteen Ships of War without reckoning the Transports, immediately seized all the Vessels in their Road, and by that Means got more than his Demand; for the City by way of Compromise, besides the Freedom of Passage, paid a Contribution of 100000 Crowns.

*Elbing* pu-  
nished for  
the same.

The City of *Elbing*, which had made the same Refusal as *Dantzick*, and not taken warning from its Example, was punished more severely. *Charles* entered it on the 12th of *December* at the head of 3000 Men with their Bayonets fixed. The Inhabitants in a Consternation desired Mercy. Upon which he ordered them to be all disarmed, quarter'd his Soldiers in their Houses, demanded a Contribution of 200000 Crowns, and declared 200 Pieces of Cannon and 400000 Weight of Powder, found in the Place, lawful Prize.

There was great reason to believe the King of *Prussia* secretly favoured this Expedition against the City of *Elbing*; at least it

it is certain, he did not oppose it. It was done in sight of his Troops, who had for some time blocked up the Place under Presence of putting the Treaty of *December 12, 1699*, in execution. It might besides have been a Clause in the League, concluded sometime before between the King of *Sweden* and the Elector *Charles XII*, engaged to acknowledge his Electoral Highness as King of *Prussia*, and the Elector promised not to assist the King of *Poland*, but to attack the Republick, in case it declared against *Sweden*.

1703.

*Augustus*, who was under no small discouragement, opposed his Enemy's Expectations only by a Council of Senators, who assembled at *Javarow*. They met the 16th of *November*, but were obliged to adjourn the Council to the 21st, the Senators, who came thither, being too few in number. He represented to the Assembly, that having no recourse for Aid, but to the *Czar*, he intended to send the *Palatine of Culm* to him, to renew the Alliance with that Prince, according to the Power given him by the Diet of *Lublin*. *Augustus* was the more inclined to take that Step, as General *Patkul*, who was entered into the *Russian* Service, had long solicited him to that Alliance. But the Grand Marshal of the Crown, twelve of the Senators, and some Deputies

Great Council held at *Javarow*.

Protest

pro-

1704

protested against the Embassy, as it might put a Stop to the Progress of the Negotiations. *Augustus* was obliged to suspend the Ambassador's Journey for a Month, till it could be known in what manner the Treaty would proceed. What added to his Mortification was the making their Resolution into an Act, in which his Authority was declared subordinate to that of the Republick assembled in Diet. At the breaking up of this Great Council *Augustus* set out for *Cracow*, in which Place he stayed only two Days, and took Post for *Dresden*, where the States granted him a Subsidy of 600000 Crowns.

Assembly  
of War-  
saw de-  
ferred.

During this time the King of *Sweden* had quartered his Army in the Bishoprick of *Warmia*, and *Ermoland*, and waited the assembling of the Confederates at *Warsaw*, whither the Primate had summoned them for the 14th of *January*. As only a small number of Deputies came thither, and the *Swedish* Commissioners were not then arrived, the opening of the Assembly was deferred till the 30th. Besides, the Affairs to be considered were not of a Nature to be hurried over. It was necessary that the Nuncios should take time in concerting their Measures, and to assure themselves of each other before they declared their Sentiments. The greatest part of the Confederates had

no

no other Design in Secret than to dethrone King *Augustus*, and came only to *Warsaw* ad part: that Design in execution. It was however dangerous to be the first in such a Proposal; as some of the *Palatinates* had only entered into the Confederacy with a View to the Kingdom's Peace, and the Defence of *Augustus*.

In effect nothing was at first talked of but the Preservation of Liberty, and the Necessity of giving Peace to *Poland*. Not the least Word was mentioned of dethroning the King: On the contrary a Desire to support his Rights and Authority above all things was affected. The Primate himself dissimulated an extreme Reserve in that respect. In the Discourse he made upon the opening of the Assembly, he contented himself with representing, that the Councils of *Thorn*, *Marienburg*, *Lublin*, and *Javarow*, instead of producing the expected good Effects, had only drawn new Sufferings and Difficulties upon the Republick; that he had considered another Method which could not fail to be effectual, and that was the uniting *Great Poland* in Confederacy, who as Children of Peace had consented to join with him, whom they regarded as the Protector of their Laws, Liberty, Religion and Fortunes. He added, that altho' the King was retired from *Warsaw*, for his

Primate's  
Affectation.

part

1704

And the  
Marshal's  
of Great  
Poland.

part he thought himself bound in duty to continue there, and to watch over the Interests of his Country, which he should always have at heart.

The Marshal of *Great Poland* spoke next. He repeated the Reasons which had induced that Part of the Republick to enter into a Confederacy, and endeavoured to shew that they had not acted like Rebels, but as became a free Nobility, urged to Extremities by the continual Violation of their Privileges, and the Disorders of the *Saxon Troops*. He declared however, that he would continue faithful to the King, and begged the Primate would please to propose some Method by which their Country might be delivered from the Dangers that threatened it.

Division  
of the  
Nuncios.

Some Nuncios, who spoke afterwards, said, that as the Confederacy contained nothing contradictory to Religion and the King's Authority, they had consented to join in it. But others having expressed great Complaints against *Augustus*, and the Marshal of the Confederacy having said, that when Nature would produce any thing great her Motions were slow, and that it was no wonder the Confederacy proceeded gradually in its Deliberations; as it was necessary to satisfy as well the absent, as present; every body began to perceive the Design



## Book IV. *under AUGUSTUS II.*

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Design which had been formed for dethroning *Augustus*. But they were fully convinced of it when the *Swedish* Commissioners arrived, and presented a Letter from the King of *Sweden*, in which he advised the Assembly to nominate Prince *James Sobieski*, King of *Poland*, and promised to employ all his Forces to support him upon the Throne.

This News raised great Debates amongst the Nuncios. But the Primate's Authority, his Address in reading Letters publicly, which brought Advice, that *Augustus* had desired to treat with the King of *Sweden*, without the Republick's participation, the hope of restoring the Peace of *Poland*, and the fear of offending the King of *Sweden*, overcame the Repugnance of the Deputies in the opposition; so that the Confederacy composed of the Primate, the Bishop, and Palatine of *Poznań*, the Castellan of *Plesko*, and the Deputies of seven or eight *Palatinates*, in an Assembly held the 14th of *February*, declared King *Augustus* fallen from all Right and Title to the Crown, for having violated the Laws and Privileges of the Nation, which according to the *Pacta Conventa*, was thereby discharged from all Obedience promised to him. This Resolution was confirmed the 18th by a solemn Oath. It was also decreed, that the Revenues

Motives  
against the  
Opposition.

*Augustus*  
declared  
fallen  
from all  
Right to  
the Crown

1704.

ties of the Crown should be seized, and the Adherents of *Augustus* regarded as Enemies to their Country. The Primate was desired to proclaim the Interregnum, which was done accordingly, and a General Diet summoned for the 20th of *June*, to proceed to the Election of a new King.

F I N I S.





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